THE KING'S GENERAL IN THE WEST

THE LIFE OF SIR RICHARD GRANVILLE

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BIDEFORD AND THE CIVIL WAR, ETC.

KING CHARLES THE FIRST SUMMONING THE TOWN OF PLYMOUTH TO SURRENDER

(From a window by Fouracre in Plymouth Guildhall)

THE KING'S GENERAL : : IN THE WEST : :

THE LIFE OF SIR RICHARD GRANVILLE, BART., 1600-1659

COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES BY

REV. ROGER GRANVILLE, M.A.
SUB-DEAN OF EXETER CATHEDRAL

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PREFACE

THE following account of Sir Richard Granville, who was "the King's General in the West" during the principal part of the Great Rebellion in the seventeenth century, has already to a large extent appeared in "A History of the Granville Family" which was privately printed by me in 1895, but it is hoped that this brief sketch of his life will reach a wider circle of readers and fill up a gap in modern studies of that interesting period of English history.

Chief among the causes which led to the defeat of the Royalist troops in the West of England were the jealousies and personal rivalries of the Cavalier officers; and these were, to a great extent, aggravated by the factious and troublesome pretensions of this particular commander. There appears, however, to have been no sufficient reason why he should have been asked to surrender his post of "the King's General in the West," to which he had been appointed by Charles I., in favour of Lord Hopton, but which he was compelled to do; and on giving up his command he,

not unnaturally, refused to serve under that officer; upon which he was forthwith committed to Launceston Gaol, to the great dissatisfaction of many of the Cornish officers and soldiers, who attributed their ultimate discomfiture to the absence of Sir Richard from the field.

Clarendon (his foe) in his History of the Rebellion, and the prejudiced and inaccurate Archdeacon Echard, give very unflattering accounts of Sir Richard; but his great-nephew, George Granville, Lord Lansdown, published a skilful and temperate vindication of him against their aspersions; and Sir Richard printed his own "Defence" in Holland, dating it January 28, 1654. His character was perhaps defamed with unnecessary severity by Lord Clarendon, as Lord Lansdown thought; but it is difficult to come to a clear decision as to his actual qualities. It cannot be denied that he was often actuated by the dictates of a violent and revengeful temper. As to his alleged cruelty, it is, perhaps, not possible for people of our own day to give a fair judgment. His share in the suppression of the Irish rebellion was probably not accompanied by such fierce vindictiveness as Cromwell afterwards displayed in Ireland, a memorial of which still survives in the expression "the curse of Cromwell." His attitude to his wife may have been brutal, but then her conduct probably goaded him to reprisals foreign to his better nature. And

she must evidently have been a bit of a hussy, or her son, who was known as George Howard, would never have had existence.

He certainly carried out the old Cornish saying, "A Godolphin was never known to want wit, a Trelawny courage, or a Granville loyalty"; and under all the oppressions of power from the great men and ministers of those times, beyond example or precedent, no provocation could drive him from the Royal cause. He preserved his zeal and fidelity to his king under all discouragements. "When so many others of the first rank forgot obligations, to serve against him, he forgot injuries to serve for him," as Lord Lansdown writes. One could have wished that that gross act of treachery to the Parliament, by which he earned the name of "Skellum," could have been truthfully omitted, and it is the only occasion in his life when one feels a tinge of doubt as to his sincerity to the royal cause; yet there can be no doubt whatever as to his entire loyalty, when at the end he wrote that fine vindication of himself, after Charles II. had forbidden him his presence—as fine a bit of declamatory English as one could wish to encounter.

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Gardiner's "Civil War," to "The Siege of Plymouth," by the late Mr. R. N. Worth, F.G.S., in the Journal of the Plymouth Institute

for 1875, and to various articles that have from time to time appeared in the "Transactions of the Devonshire Association," and especially, for the incidents of Sir Richard's unhappy married life, to the interesting account of "Lady Howard of Fitzford," by Mrs. G. H. Radford, published in 1890, and to her kind permission to reproduce the portrait of Lady Howard in this book. I have also found no little help from Mr. Cotton's "Barnstaple during the Great Civil War" and Mr. Tregellas's "Cornish Worthies"; whilst that delightful book, "The King in Exile," by Eva Scott, has supplied me with some interesting details concerning Sir Richard's final disgrace.

R. G.

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THE KING'S GENERAL : : IN THE WEST : :

CHAPTER I

1600–1639

Ancestry and parentage—Enters the army—Foreign wars—Expeditions to Cadiz and La Rochelle—Is knighted—Enters Parliament—Inherits his mother's property—His marriage—Is created a Baronet—His divorce—Heavy fine imposed by the Star Chamber—Imprisonment in the Fleet—His escape and exile.

THE long range of mural cliffs, which commences at Hartland Point in Devonshire and extends to Tintagel in Cornwall, faces due west with scarcely any interruption. Owing to this exposure, whether aided by the force of the converging currents of the Bristol and St. George's Channels, or by some other unexplained cause, the sea breaks on it with a sustained violence unequalled elsewhere, it is said, in these islands. Not on the Land's End itself, not on the outer line of the Hebrides, not even on the magnificent

coast of Clare in Ireland, do the long rollers of the Atlantic march in with such stupendous weight and force as along this north-western portion of the Cornish coast.

Bare, bleak, and desolate as it undoubtedly is, like all north-looking shores, it has, however, one great compensation : the colouring of the sea at all hours is incomparably deeper and more various than on coasts where the spectator faces the meridian light; and few scenes of the simpler kind remain better impressed on the memory than the prospect at sunset down one of those tranquil valleys, or " combes," as they are locally called, which open into the coast. These combes nearly all pursue an absolutely straight course east and west from their origin in the moorlands to the sea, and consequently admit the sunset at their extremity for a greater part of the year ; and the red ball just sinking between their soft seaward portals of sloping turf, and lighting up the line of golden sand which forms its bar, and the intense blue of the strip of ocean beyond, is a sight not easily to be forgotten.

The combes themselves are exceedingly beautiful. We must call on the author of " Westward-Ho!" who writes with all the enthusiasm of a native, to aid our powers of description. " Each is like the other, and each is like no other English scenery. Each has its upright walls; inland, of

rich oak wood; nearer the sea, of dark green furze; then of smooth turf; then of weird black cliffs, which range out of sight, and lift far into the deep sea in castles, spires, and wings of jagged iron-stone. Each has its narrow strip of fertile meadow, its crystal trout-stream winding across and across from one hill foot to the other; its grey stone mill, with the water sparkling and humming round the dripping wheel; its dark rock pools above the tide-mark, where the salmon gather in from their Atlantic wanderings after each autumn flood; its ridges of blown sand, bright with golden trefoil and crimson lady's-finger; its grey bank of polished pebbles, down which the stream rattles towards the sea below. Each has its black field of shark's-tooth rock, which paves the coves from side to side, streaked with here and there a pink line of shell sand, and laced with white foam from the eternal surge, stretching in parallel lines out to the westward, in strata set up on edge or tilted towards each other at strange angles by primæval earthquakes. Such is the 'mouth,' as these coves are called, and such the jaw of teeth which they display, one rasp of which would grind abroad the timbers of the stoutest ship. To landward all is richness, softness, and peace; to seaward a waste and howling wilderness of rock and roller, barren to the fisherman and hopeless to the shipwrecked mariner."

In one of these combes, in a singularly insulated position, in the parish of Kilkhampton, is the site, we can scarcely say the remains, of Stowe, the original home of that brave Cornish family, the Granvilles, or Grenvilles, as the name was usually spelt in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who claimed descent from Rollo, the sea-king. Nor did they belie their fierce and adventurous ancestor. They were fighters to the core. Rightly they had for their bearing three horseman's rests, in which the lance or tilting spear was fixed. Some of course through the long centuries were senators, magistrates, ecclesiastics; but as a rule they were men of the sword, serving their country by land and sea. No family ever acquired so strong a hold on popular affection in Cornwall as did this gallant race. "You are upon an uncommon foundation in that part of the world," wrote George Granville, the poetical Lord Lansdown, in a letter to his nephew, William Henry, Earl of Bath, in 1711. "Your ancestors for at least five hundred years never made any alliance, male or female, out of the Western counties; thus there is hardly a gentleman either in Cornwall or Devon but has some of your blood, as you of theirs. I remember the first time I accompanied your grandfather into the West, upon holding his parliament of tinners as Warden of the Stanneries, when there was the most numerous appearance

of gentry of both counties that had ever been remembered together. I observed there was hardly any one but he called cousin, and I could not but observe at the same time how well they were pleased with it." He proceeds to advise his nephew always to make Stowe his principal residence. "From the Conquest to the Restoration your ancestors constantly resided among their countrymen, except when the public service called upon them to sacrifice their lives for it. Stowe, in my grandfather's time, till the wars broke out, was a sort of academy for all the young men of family in the county; he provided himself with the best masters of all kinds for education, and the children of his neighbours and friends shared the advantage with his own. Thus in a manner he became the father of his county, and not only engaged the affection of the present generation, but laid a foundation for posterity which is not worn out to this day."

Kingsley thus describes Stowe as it must have been probably in Elizabethan and early Stuart times: "A huge rambling building, half castle, half dwelling-house. On three sides to the north, west, and south, the lofty walls of the old ballium still stood with their machicolated turrets, loop-holes, and dark downward crannies for dropping stones and fire on the besiegers; but the southern part of the ballium had become a flower-garden

with quaint terraces, statues, knots of flowers, clipped yews and hollies, and all the pedantries of the topiarian art. And towards the east, where the vista of the valley opened, the old walls were gone, and the frowning Norman keep, ruined in the wars of the Roses, had been replaced by the rich and stately architecture of the Tudors. Altogether the house, like the time, was in a transitionary state, and represented faithfully enough the passage of the old Middle Age into the new life which had just burst into blossom throughout Europe—never, let us pray, to see autumn and winter.

"From the house on three sides the hills sloped steeply down; and from the garden there was a truly English prospect. At one turn they could catch over the western walls a glimpse of the blue ocean, flecked with passing sails; and at the next, spread far below, range on range of fertile park, stately avenue, yellow autumn woodland, and purple heather moors, lapping over and over each other up the valley to the old British earthwork, which stood bleak and furze-grown on its conical peak. And standing out against the sky, on the highest bank which closed the valley to the east, the lofty tower of Kilkhampton, rich with the monuments and offerings of five centuries of Granvilles."

But the Granvilles also owned the manor and

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borough of Bideford over the Devonshire border, which had been given at the same time to the first Sir Richard de Granville, near kinsman to the Conqueror, when he sheathed his sword after the conquest of South Wales. In his "Worthies of Devon," Prince, no doubt willingly enough, offers a compromise with Cornwall as to the ownership of the family, and quotes Dugdale and Fuller to the effect that both Devon and Cornwall are so fruitful of illustrious men, that each can spare to the other a hero or two, even if wrongfully deprived of her own; but Carew also, the Cornish historian, has a somewhat similar passage, in which he says, "The merits of this ancient family are so many and so great that ingrossed they would make one county proud, which divided would make two happy." True it is that the Granvilles usually took the sea at Bideford, for it was their nearest port, but Stowe was, as even Prince allows, "their chiefest habitation," at any rate from the time of Edward III.

Amongst the earlier members of this famous family are several, whose feats of arms, having received their summons "to go with the king beyond the seas for their honour and the preservation and profit of the kingdom," must here be passed over. They bore their part in the Wars of the Roses in the person of Sir Thomas Granville, who was an adherent of the Red Rose party against Richard III.

He accompanied his cousins the Courtenays, when they raised an army to join the Duke of Buckingham in his attempt to dethrone the king. They marched to Salisbury in order to effect a junction with him, but the extraordinary swollen state of the Severn, an inundation so remarkable that for an hundred years afterwards it was called "the Great Water," or "Buckingham's Water," placed a barrier between their forces from effecting a junction, and the ill-starred confederacy was dissolved and its leaders sought safety in flight. Granville, in company with Sir Richard Edgecombe, escaped abroad, where he remained until the restoration of the House of Lancaster, when he was appointed an esquire of the body of Henry VI. and Sheriff of Cornwall, being the first of the family to receive this honour, according to Hals.

A Sir Richard Granville was Marshal of Calais under Henry VIII., and in the quaint language of Carew, "enterlaced his home magistracy with martial employments abroad." In the performance of the former, he took an active part in the suppression of the Western Rebellion of 1549. His capture by the rebels at Trematon Castle is thus quaintly told by Carew :

"At the last Cornish commotion Sir Richard Greynvile the elder, with his Ladie and followers, put themselves into this castle, and there for a while indured the Rebel's siege, incamped in three

places against it; who, wanting great ordnance, could have wrought the besieged small scathe had his friends, or enemies? kept faith and promise: but some of those within, slipping by night over the walls, with their bodies after their hearts, and those without mingling humble intreatings with rude menaces, he was hereby wonne to issue forth at a postern gate for parley. The while a part of these rakehels, not knowing what honestie and farre less how much the word of a souldier imported, stepped betweene him and home, laid hold on his aged unwieldie body, and threatened to leave it life-less, if the inclosed did not leave their resistance. So prosecuting their first treacherie against the prince with suteable actions towards his subjects, they seized on the castle and exercised the uttermost of their barbarous cruelties (death excepted) on the surprised prisoners. The seely (*i.e.*, harmless) gentlewomen, without regard of sexe or shame, were stripped from their apparrell to their verie smockes, and some of their fingers broken, to pluck away their rings, and Sir Richard himself made an exchange from Trematon Castle to that of Launceston with the Gayle to boote."

After the battle of Sampford Courtenay, where the insurgents were at last defeated and fled in dismay, the victor, Lord Russell, in his despatch to the Council, wrote: "All night we sate on

horseback, and in the morning we had word that Arundel was fled to Launceston, who immediately began to practise with the townsmen and keepers of Grenfield and other gentlemen for the murder of them that night. The keepers so much abhorred this cruelty, as they immediately set the gentlemen at large and gave them their aid with the help of the town for the apprehension of Arundel, whom, with four or five of the ringleaders, they have imprisoned." But although Sir Richard and his companions escaped being deliberately murdered, both he and his wife died within a few months afterwards from the hardships they had endured.

Their son, Sir Roger, a sea captain, and the father of Sir Richard, the future hero of the *Revenge*, after fighting the French off the Isle of Wight in 1545, went down in the *Mary Rose* off Portsmouth, when that ill-fated vessel, like the *Royal George* two centuries later, capsized at the same place and sank with all on board.

There is no need to tell again at any length the story of that immortal sea-fight in the *Revenge*, which will remain among the very greatest traditions of this country until all care for history has died away. It was a fight "memorable even beyond credit and to the height of some heroic fable," as Lord Bacon describes it, and has been called "England's naval Thermopylæ." It was

from the first as hopeless a battle as that of the Spartans under the brave Leonidas, and its moral effects were hardly less than that of Thermopylæ. Froude tells us that it struck a deeper terror, though it was but the action of a single ship, into the hearts of the Spanish people, and dealt a more deadly blow upon their fame and moral strength than even the destruction of the Armada itself, and in the direct result that arose from it it was scarcely less disastrous to them.

Sir Richard was succeeded by his son Bernard, who was born in 1559. He entered University College, Oxford, in 1574, being then fifteen years old. Of his early manhood nothing is known, but he married on July 10, 1592, a rich heiress, namely, Elizabeth, daughter of Philip Beville of Brinn, in the Cornish parish of Withiel, third son of John Beville of Killigarth, in the parish of Talland, of both which estates he eventually became the possessor in right of his wife. She was also the heiress of her uncle Sir William Beville. Being thus "most fortunate in his marriage," as Dr. Oliver expresses it, he settled at Stowe, "treading in a kind magnanimity the honourable steps of his ancestors." He was appointed Sheriff of Cornwall in 1596, and in the following year a Deputy-Lieutenant and Member of Parliament for Bodmin.

As Sheriff he took an active part in strengthen-

ing the forces of the county against another Spanish invasion, which was then anticipated; and in 1599, when such an attack was again uppermost in the minds of the British public, we find him at the head of a determined body of volunteers, ready at his call to earn distinction in arms.

There was no standing army at that period; the only constitutional force was the militia, which was raised by the Lord-Lieutenants of the various counties, and all able-bodied men were liable to be impressed and enrolled by the constables of the several hundreds for training and service. But besides those pressed for the militia, many served as volunteers; and the ardent spirit of loyalty evoked by the news of a second Armada resulted in the enrolment of more than six thousand sturdy volunteers in different parts of the West, burning to do battle with the menacing Dons. Of these no less than one thousand rallied round Bernard Granville at Stowe. A meeting of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Cornwall was held at Pendennis Castle on August 13 in that year, when orders were agreed upon touching the distribution of the militia forces, which were also one thousand strong, and as to the particulars of their places of *rendezvous*, &c.

The alarm proved groundless, and the next we hear of Bernard Granville is in 1604, when he

accompanied Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, to Dublin, and served under him, taking part in such wise measures of administration, that crime greatly diminished in that unhappy country, so that in a very short time "there were not found in all the Irish counties so many capital offenders as in the six shires of the Western Circuit in England." In consideration of his services Granville received fresh grants of land, in addition to those he had inherited from his father in Ireland (who had also seen much service in that country), and was knighted at Christchurch on November 5, 1608. Ten years afterwards he sold all his Irish property, most of which ultimately passed into the possession of the Earls of Cork.

Sir Bernard's family consisted of six sons and two daughters, but one son and one daughter died in infancy. His eldest son, Bevill, had been born four years after the *Revenge* "went down by the island crags, to be lost evermore in the main." He grew up to be a man no whit inferior in loyalty and courage to his grandsire, so that he has been called "the Bayard of England," *sans peur et sans reproche*, and when the storm at last burst over England, which had been so long threatening, Charles I. had no more loyal supporter.

Clarendon says he was "the most generally

loved man in Cornwall." He was the soul of the Royalist cause there, and his influence was very great. His first great engagement took place at Stratton, distant only a few miles from Stowe, on May 16, 1643, where he was conspicuous for his personal courage. The enemy were hopelessly defeated, and by this decisive victory, not only was Cornwall cleared of the Parliamentarian troops and secured for the king, but the whole of Devon, excepting a few of the principal towns, fell into the hands of the Royalists. In the next battle in which he took part, that of Lansdown near Bath, when again the rebels were defeated, Sir Bevill fell at the head of his regiment in the moment of victory ; and it is said that his untimely death was as bitterly lamented by the Parliamentarian troops as it was by his own followers.

Of a very different character and temperament from that of his chivalrous brother was the third son of Sir Bernard Granville, of whose life these pages purpose to give an account. He was born in the year 1600, and baptized in Kilkhampton Church on June 26, being named Richard, after his heroic grandfather ; but he seems to have had but little in common with the long line of his illustrious predecessors, except their just pride of ancestry and their aptitude for fighting. He entered the army before he was out of his teens, and leaving England in 1618 he served first in

France and then in Holland. He was afterwards engaged in the Palatine war in Germany, where he took part in several engagements, and also in the Netherlands, where, as he tells in his Journal, which he wrote in his old age, he "served under the greatest general of that age, Prince Maurice, in the regiment of that pattern soldier, Lord Vere, the General of all the English troops." In that service he earned the reputation of a brave and energetic officer, and was given a command.

Early in the month of October 1625 he served as captain of a company in the regiment of Sir John Burgh, chief of the staff, in the disastrous expedition to Cadiz, which resulted from the rupture of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, and the restoration of the Palatinate by Spanish aid. Sir Edward Cecil (Lord Wimbledon) was entrusted with the chief command, with Lord Denbigh as rear-admiral and the Earl of Essex as vice-admiral. The combined fleet arrived in Cadiz Bay on October 22, but instead of at once attacking the ships in the harbour, as the brave Sir Walter Raleigh had done so successfully in 1596, and assaulting the city, time was wasted in capturing the fort of Puntal, which guarded the entrance of the harbour, and the delay gave the Spaniards the opportunity of garrisoning the hitherto defenceless city and made a surprise impossible. On the 24th Wimbledon

landed his troops, and marched northwards to meet a Spanish force, of whose approach he had heard; but the Spaniards retreated, and, after a useless and disorderly march, he returned next morning to his fleet. The fleet, which was to have destroyed the Spanish vessels at the head of the harbour, found them posted in an inaccessible creek, and accomplished nothing. Cadiz was now too strong to attack; so on October 27 the soldiers were re-embarked, the fort of Puntal was abandoned, and the fleet put to sea to intercept the treasure-ships. This portion of the enterprise also failed; the ships were unseaworthy, and disease raged among the crews. The fleet returned to England in December, covered with disgrace.

In Sir Richard's Journal, afterwards printed by Lord Lansdown in his Works, the charge delivered by the Earl of Essex and nine other colonels against Lord Wimbledon is given, together with his answer, containing a full relation of the defeat of the expedition. Granville took with him as a volunteer young George Monk, his cousin, who was obliged to flee from England to escape punishment for having cudgelled an under-sheriff who had arrested his father for debt.

In 1627 Granville again served in Sir John Burgh's regiment in the expedition against France,

TROOPS ENCAMPED ON PLYMOUTH HOE, 1625

(From an old sketch in the British Museum)

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which was as ill-found and ill-starred as the last, and of which he has left an interesting account in his Journal. Before leaving Portsmouth he received the honour of knighthood on June 20, along with three other officers, Fryer, Cunningham, and Tolcarne. This time he served as Sergeant-Major, a post involving all the duties which are now performed by adjutants, as well as the command of a company.

In this expedition he was again joined by young Monk, who, at the risk of his life, had made his way from England through France, passing the army which lay before Rochelle, with a message from the king, warning them of the large combined naval and military force which was being prepared in France to relieve the island of Rhé. For this daring service Monk was given a commission as an ensign in Sir John Burgh's own regiment under Sir Richard, whose colours he carried and whom he henceforth always regarded as his father-in-arms.

The issue of this expedition was even more disastrous than the former one. The English fleet, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham, sailed on June 27, and a landing was effected on the island on July 12. St. Martin's, the capital, was besieged from July 17 to October 29. The destruction by a storm of the expedition destined to reinforce the besiegers, and the failure of an assault attempted

on October 27, combined with the landing of a French force on the island, compelled the Duke to raise the siege. These French troops, to the number of 6000, commanded by Marshal Schomberg, had gradually been collected at the fort of La Pree, which Buckingham had neglected to take immediately after his landing. They now assailed the English during their retreat, and inflicted a very heavy loss on them. The re-embarkation took place on October 30. The English loss, during the siege and retreat, was about 4000 men. Sir Richard himself was among the wounded, his name appearing as such in the list of killed and wounded, though he himself does not refer to the fact in his Journal. He won the friendship and esteem of the Duke of Buckingham in this expedition, who promoted him to be colonel of a regiment with general approbation. In the following year Sir Richard commanded his regiment in the last half-hearted attack that was made to relieve Rochelle, and Monk again served under him.

After this there followed a period of inactivity as regards warfare, and Sir Richard turned his attention to politics, and in the Parliament of 1628–29, which forced the king to assent to the famous Petition of Right, he was elected to represent Fowey, whilst his brother Bevill was returned for Launceston; the two brothers

PLYMOUTH, WITH THE WALL ENCLOSURE AND CASTLE, 1627
(From an old sketch in the British Museum)

occupying seats on opposite sides of the House, Bevill being a follower of Sir John Eliot, and Richard, like his father, a Royalist.

It is difficult to avoid the inference that the relations between the members of the Granville family must have been far from cordial at this period in consequence of the very contradictory character of their political feelings, and undoubtedly Sir Bernard's latter years were much embittered by this opposition to his views and actions by his own flesh and blood. Bevill's politics were greatly moulded by his bosom friend Eliot, and from the time that he was first returned to Parliament in 1621 as representative of the county of Cornwall, he had voted against the unconstitutional measures first of King James and then of Charles, and it was only when with true clear-sightedness he foresaw the dangers that were besetting the State by the extreme measures of Hampden and his followers, that, though still disapproving of much of the king's policy, he became a Royalist. That the change was believed, even during the heat of the time, to have been a conscientious one is certain from the fact that while others were denounced as traitors, Bevill Granville was always mentioned with respect, even by his enemies, whilst by his friends he was looked upon almost with veneration.

On the death of his mother Sir Richard

succeeded to a portion of the Bevill estates at Killigarth, situate between Looe and Fowey. His manner of life and the society in which he moved in London had landed him in financial difficulties, and the two following letters from his brother Bevill have reference to his debts and his desire to raise a mortgage on the tithes of Tywardreath near Fowey. The letters not only betray Sir Richard's extravagance but also his want of cordiality towards his brother, whose generous spirit is very evident. Roger Granville, who is referred to in the first of the letters, was a younger brother born three years after Sir Richard. He was subsequently drowned in the service of Charles I.

"Good Brother,

"I shall not need now to tell you how forward and inclinable I am and still have been to serve your occasions. I doubt not but you have had so good an experience of it in all times hertofore as I assure myself you will acknowledge it so freely as I need not to mention it; only I did hope that those former acts of mine might have wrought so good effects that you should not have been brought again to those extremities, as if you had husbanded them well this needed not to have been. For my part, though I liked not your leasing of the tyethes and advised the con-

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trary, out of my fears only that hereby you would afterwards want meanes, which I now see proves too true, yet when nothing else would satisfy you, I gave way unto your will, and if you feele the want of it heerafter you cannot blame me. Now also out of my love to you I finde myself tyed in conscience to deliver my opinion and advice, when it may be for your good, and then you may do what you please, that if the event prove ill you may blame none but yourself. First I thinke the summe spoken of no valuable consideration for the enheritages of it. Next, when it is morgaged, I know you nor will nor can ever redeeme it again, and one half of the money must goe away for the buying in of the lease; so a very small matter will come into your purse. And lastly (which is the greatest reason of all) how will you do afterwards for means when this is gone? I know how small your estate will be then, and how great your mind and expences are I would I could not have heard soe much of; and for farther helpe from me heerafter you must not expect it; for how willing soever I am, I know I shall be utterly unable to doo anything more for you, for so great is the burthen lying on me as I pray God I may be able to find myself and young family bread heerafter. Now for the purchase Deed from Colthurst, I never sawe it nor know where it is; all the writings that my grandfather had concerning Truerd-

reth I have and will search at any time for your satisfaction. I am sure nothing that concerned Truard: ever came neere any of my father's writings, for I had them all imediately from my grandfather Bevill, and therefore you need not trouble yourself to seek it among my father's, for I know it could not come there; but if I can find it you shall have it. And wheras you desire me to joyne with you in the sale I must desire you to excuse me, for I thinke my joyning needs not, and besides in truth I am bound by promise unto Sir William C (? Courtenay) and Sir H S (? Henry Spry) not to joyne with you or Roger in the disposing of anything till you have satisfied them the debt you owe them; which promise I may not breake and you cannot but remember how many times I have helpe you to mony for to pay your debts and yett nothing is don. I will trouble you no farther at this time, but with the remembrance of my best love which you shall be ever sure of, I rest your unfeigned loving brother

"Bevill Grenvile"

"Good Brother,

"I am sorrie you do not thinke your owne power with me is as much as Mr. Billing's, though I love him well, yett if you had understood me rightly you would have knowne that no man could have prevailed more with me then

yourself and therfore you needed not to have used any other mediation, for what I should not have done for your owne sake I shall not do for any other's ; but for myne owne honesty I shall do more then for all the world's sake. Wherfore I never intended to keep any of these writings from you but said in my letter I would search for them and as soon as I could finde them you should have all I have. But for that Deed I never yett saw it, yet I hope it is among my Grandfather's writings and if I have it you shall be sure of it. I have not rested a day since I received your letter but have searched for the writings that concerne Truard: to give you satisfaction. Divers I have found but not yett that; howbeit I hope I shall, but when I do I will deliver it to no hand but your owne and till you come will not leave my search unlesse I find it, for though I am not so much in your favour as that you will once in three quarters of a yeare see me for love, yett (whether you will or noo) I will see you for your owne busines sake or it shall not be dispatched, though I cannot but take notice how much lesse I am beholden to you in that kind then others that have not deserved so well of you as I have, and to make you the more beholden to me I will leave no paines untaken for to find out this Deed, which is not easie to be don, my things lying so confusedly, and this being a Deed I have never seen

nor heard of. But now after all this kindnes I must come to your unkindnes. You say my reason is unreasonable in that I cannot joyne with you because of my word and solemn promise to Sir H S (Henry Spry) to the contrarie. I am sorrie you value these things so slightly as to thinke there is no reason for the keeping of them. For myne owne parte I see so much reason in it as for all the wealth of the world I will not break one. If you be able to dispose of it yourself, what needs my joyning, and if I be no partie in it I do breake no promise, and therfore do desire you should do it by yourself. But wheras you talke of paying £20 more then you owe and that you owe not the whole money, you must learne by my woefull experience that what you become bound for, you must accompt to be your owne debt, for whither you will or no, you cannot avoid paing of it. You should have done wisely to have disputed before you had given bond, but having done it, it is too late to plead conscience. Thus with the best reason I have I have hastely answared and will accordingly perform the deliverie of all the writings when you come to fetch them.

"In the meane time how unreasonable soever you deeme me yett I know I have shewen myself

"Your very loving brother

"Bevill Grenvile."

The date of the above letters is not given, but they were probably written in the autumn of 1628, inasmuch as there is extant a letter from Sir Richard to Lord Conway, the Secretary of State, dated September 11 in that year, in which he amusingly describes a mishap that had befallen him in joining the fleet at Portsmouth. The Duke of Buckingham, he says, had given him leave to go into Cornwall, but on the receipt of a summons he had hurried back to join his regiment at Winchester but found it gone, and on Sunday at Portsmouth he saw the Fleet, yet could not get to them. He returned full speed to Plymouth, but the wind had conveyed the Fleet speedier than his horse's feet could bring him and so he missed his hopes, all his goods being aboard, and he begs Conway to use his mediation with the king, and sends his letter by Sir James Bagge, who will endorse his statement.

"It was," writes Lord Clarendon, "the Duke of Buckingham's countenance and solicitations that prevailed with a rich widow to marry Sir Richard at this time"; namely Lady Howard, of Fitzford, near Tavistock, who was looked upon as the richest match in the West. She was the only child of Sir John Fitz, and her mother was Bridget, sixth daughter of Sir William Courtenay, of Powderham. She was baptized on August 1, 1596, at Whitchurch, the parish church of Fitz-

ford, and was consequently four years older than Sir Richard. Her father, a man born under an unlucky star (so much so that his own father endeavoured to delay the hour of his birth—being alarmed by astrologic portents), had murdered Sir Nicholas Slanning under circumstances that could hardly be called a fair duel; but he won his pardon from Queen Elizabeth. The sequel of the tale is told thus by Prince: "After this, as one sin became the punishment of another, Sir John was so unhappy to be guilty of a second murder; and thereupon flying from his county (though not from his own guilty conscience) so far as Salisbury, or thereabouts, in his way to London, to sue out a second pardon, hearing somebody about his chamber-door early in the morning, and fearing it had been officers come to apprehend him, by mistake in the dark he slew one of the house come to wake him, as he desired, in order to his journey. When the lights came that made him sensible of the horrid and atrocious fact which he had afresh committed, overwhelmed with sorrow and despair, he fell upon his own sword and slew himself."

Mary Fitz, his rich young heiress, hereupon became a ward to the Earl of Nothumberland, and was taken away from her mother and friends, and placed under the care of Lady Hatton, the second wife of Sir Edmund Coke, the Master of

the Court of Wards. In 1608, when only twelve years of age, she was married to Sir Allen Percy, a younger brother of the Earl of Northumberland, a man some thirty years of age, and who four years previously had been created a Knight of the Bath. The young bride did not, of course, live with her husband, but remained under the care of Lady Hatton, and he died in November 1611 from the effects of a severe chill before cohabitation.

The same letter that tells of his death speaks of the "great suing for his lady," and how "Sir Walter Cope hath been already employed to the Lady Hatton at Stoke (Poges) in the behalf of Sir Thomas Howard (third son of the Earl of Suffolk), but the common opinion yet is that she is reserved for the young Lord St. John, or one of his brethren" (Lady Hatton's nephews). The little Devonshire heiress was evidently a much desired prize. She had a clear rental of £700 a year in land, besides much property in houses, flocks, and herds, and she was very beautiful. Her father had been a handsome man, and Lord Clarendon long after this date speaks of her as "having been of extraordinary beauty." Accordingly she was much sought after and many offers were made for her hand. But she chose her second husband for herself by eloping one evening with "my lord Darcy's eldest son," a

youth the same age as herself, namely, fifteen. Sir Henry Savile writes to Dudley Carleton about it as follows: "Sir Allen Percy is gone the way of all flesh, dying; his lady the way of all quicke flesh, having stolen out of my lady Elizabeth Hatton's house in London in the edge of an evening, and coupled herself in marriage with Mr. Darcy, my lord Darcy's eldest son."

The young bridegroom only survived the joys of marriage a few months, and Mary, still a ward, was now married for the third time, not probably from her own choice, to Sir Charles Howard, fourth son of the Earl of Suffolk, afterwards Lord High Treasurer of England. Marriage settlements were drawn up and sealed by the Earl and his eldest son Theophilus on October 2, 1612, and the marriage probably took place in London in the same month, she being now sixteen years of age and a bride for the third time! The young couple resided with the Earl, and it was at his house of Audley End that Lady Howard's first child, Elizabeth, was born on September 21, 1613. She afterwards had a second daughter, Mary, who was probably born in London. Sir Charles Howard died on September 22, 1622, and she was thus again left a widow.

Where she lived with her children after his death is not known; probably she divided her

time between London and Fitzford, which since her father's death had been let to strangers. It seems likely to have been during her widowhood that her portrait was painted by Vandyke, of which a fine print by Hollar is in the British Museum. She had great difficulty in recovering her jointure, which was £600 a year, chargeable on lands at Oswestry, from her father-in-law, and a suit in chancery which lasted many years, and of which we shall hear more anon, had to be brought against the Earl, and, after his death, against his successor Theophilus, the second Earl.

It was while Lady Howard's long chancery suit was in progress that Sir Richard Granville first appears on the scene of her life. Lord Conway, the Secretary of State, writes on the 3rd of November 1628 to Lord Coventry, describing him as "a noble knight and colonel, who is interested in Lady Howard's cause that is to be heard on the morrow." Soon afterwards he was married to Lady Howard, the pre-nuptial conveyance of her lands being dated November 22 in that year. This settlement, which is now in the possession of the Duke of Bedford, shows very plainly that Lady Howard did not trust her fourth husband all in all; for without consulting him she by it conveyed all her land to trustees, to receive during her lifetime, whether sole or married, the

rents and to dispose of them at her will and pleasure.

There is no record of the marriage in any local registers; it probably took place in London, but the happy pair soon took up their residence at Fitzford with Lady Granville's youngest daughter, Mary Howard; Elizabeth the elder one having apparently died young, no notice of her being found in any letters afterwards.

On April 9, 1630 (though the Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera gives the date April 29, 1631) Sir Richard was created a baronet for his distinguished services in the field. This was the only creation in that year, and with two exceptions the last creation prior to 1640. Thomas Walkley, who seems to have been the original Debrett, in his "Catalogue of Dukes, &c.," gives under "Anno sexto Caroli Regis 1630" "Sir Richard Grenville, Knight and Colonel, created a Baronet. Teste apud Westmonasterium decimo nono die Aprilis."

That month Lady Granville presented him with a son and heir, who was born at Fitzford and named Richard after him. The entry in the Tavistock Baptismal Register is as follows:

"1630 May 16th, Richard, the sonne of Richard Greenfeild, knight (*sic*) baptized."

Up to this child's birth things appear to have gone pretty smoothly between husband and wife,

LADY HOWARD

SWANSEA PUBLIC LIBRARY CENTRAL

though no doubt to a high-spirited woman, who for more than seven years had managed her own affairs, Sir Richard's imperious temper and military notions of obedience without question must have been galling. To judge from subsequent events, he had made himself at once thoroughly acquainted with all her possessions, and saw that as much money as possible was squeezed out of the tenants; but when he discovered how her property had been tied up, so that he had no control over it, his anger was terrible, and he commenced a series of insults and threats by way of revenge. He confined her to a wing of Fitzford and "excluded her from governing the house and affaires within dore," and placed his aunt Mrs. Abbot, the second daughter of Sir Richard of the *Revenge* and widow of Justinian Abbot of Hartland Abbey, in authority there instead.

This was bad enough, but there was worse to follow. His violence and bad language towards her were so great that she was forced to appeal to the justices of the peace, who ordered him to allow her forty shillings a week. He called her bad names before the justices, "she being a vertuous and chaste lady." He had given directions to one of his servants "to burn horse haire, wooll, feathers and parings of horse-hoofes, and to cause the smoke to goe into the ladye's chamber through a hole made in the plaistering

out of the kitchen"—an attempt apparently to murder her by suffocation! "He broke up her chamber dore and came into the chamber at night with a sword drawn. That for the key of his closett, which she had taken away and refused to give him, he tooke holde of her petty coate and tore it, and threw her on the ground, being with childe, and, as one witness deposed, made her eye blacke and blewe. That the lady being with childe, he did threaten her that she should not have her own midwife but one of his own providing."

Sir Richard endeavoured to make his defence thus: "That they had lived quietly together by the space of two years, and till they came to that Court; that she had often carried herself unseemly both in wordes and deedes, and sunge unseemly songs to his face to provoke him, and had bidden goe to such a woman and such a woman, and called him a 'poore rogue' and 'pretty fellow,' and said he was not worth ten groates when she married him; that she would make him creepe to her; that she had good friends in London who would beare her out in it; that she swore the peace against him without a cause, and then asked him, 'Art thou not a pretty fellow to be bound to the good behaviour?'; that she said he was an ugly fellow, and when he was gone from home she said 'the Devill and sixpence

goe with him and soe shall he lacke neither money nor company'; that she voluntarily refused to have servants to goe with her abroad; that she said such an one was an honester man than her husband, and that she loved Cuttofer (George Cutteford of Walreddon, her agent) better than him; that he was content she should have what midwife she would, and that soe she had; that there were holes made in the kitchen wall by the lady herself or her daughter; that he gave directions that they should be stopped up, that she might not harken what the servants said in the kitchen; that she had ten rooms at pleasure, and had whatsoever in the house she would desire; that she locked him into his closett and tooke away the key, and it is true he endeavoured to take away the key from her, and hurt his thumb, and rent her pocket; that he earnestly desired to dwell with her, &c."

All this comes out in a trial in the High Commission Court for a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, which Lady Granville commenced at the instigation of the Earl of Suffolk. The unhappy wife, it would seem, wrote to her brother-in-law, telling him of her husband's cruelty, her weak health, and how she was made a cipher in her own house. Accordingly he sent a pursuivant for her, "with a warrant of the Court of High Commission to bring her to London as his prisoner"; and then,

as Sir Richard writes, "procured her to come and live with him in his own house, as she did for a long time." After hearing arguments from counsel on both sides, on February 9, 1632, the Court decided "that there was such a breach made that it was not like they could forgett it easily, and not fitt to compell her to live with him, and therefore to have halfe of her meanes, being £700 per annum, *i.e.*, £350 per annum."

This sentence appears just and founded on the evidence. It will be noticed that Sir Richard with all his ingenuity was only able to bring frivolous complaints against his wife. Nothing is said here of the children, for there were two children born of this marriage, viz., the son Richard, already mentioned, and a daughter Elizabeth, who, as her name does not appear in the Tavistock or Whitchurch registers, was probably born in Lord Suffolk's town house after Lady Granville had taken refuge there before the trial.

Six days before the sentence of separation was pronounced, Sir Richard had been cast into Fleet Prison, being unable to pay a heavy fine that had been imposed on him by the Star Chamber. Lord Suffolk, it seems, had brought an action against him in that court for calling him, in the presence and hearing of the pursuivant, who had been sent to Fitzford to convey Lady Granville

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to London, "a base lord, who had acted basely towards him."

"It is very possible," as Lord Lansdown admits, "upon such strong provocations Sir Richard might fly out to use some expressions offensive to the Earl; a man of more humble temper could hardly have forborn. Be that as it may, the pretence is taken: he is cited to the Star Chamber and condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure and to pay a fine of no less than eight thousand pounds, one half to the earl, the other to the king, upon the bare oath and single testimony of one of the Earl's servants that he heard Sir Richard say his master was a base lord, though four persons present at the discourse deposed to the contrary."

The Star Chamber, which had been called into existence by Henry VII. to secure good "governances" for the country and to keep the nobles in order, had subsequently had its jurisdiction extended so that, in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., it included most "misdemeanours of an aggravated nature, such as disturbances of the public peace, assaults accompanied with a good deal of violence, conspiracies, and *libels;* and besides these, every misdemeanour came within the proper scope of its inquiry, those especially of public importance, and for which the law, as then understood, had provided no sufficient punish-

ment." (Hallam.) It imposed ruinous fines, and the pillory, whipping, and cutting off the ears were amongst the punishments it inflicted.

Sir Richard's sentence was thought at the time to be a very hard one, Lord Clarendon says, and, being unable to pay this exorbitant fine, he was committed a close prisoner to the Fleet, and there he remained for the space of sixteen months "without being able to find, by all the endeavours he could use, either justice, redress, or mitigation."

In August of this year, while Sir Richard was still a prisoner, a commission was sent to Fitzford to search the house as he was suspected of clipping, if not of counterfeiting, the king's coinage: Sir Francis Drake and Mr. William Strode visited the house, but notice of their coming had in some way been given. They thoroughly searched the house, "tronkes, chests, and cabinetts," and examined the servants and Mrs. Abbot, who still had the rule of the house. Pincers, holdfasts, files, "smoothe and ruffe," one of which had been much used for yellow metal, were found, and the servants admitted that they had melted silver lace, &c. All this, though suspicious, was not considered conclusive, for nothing was done against Sir Richard on this charge.

The following November, Lady Granville, "she being a ward and under the protection of

the Court of Wards when Sir Richard married her," petitioned the king for the separate use of her property, and in March the pre-nuptial settlement was declared good against Sir Richard, who writes—"Soon after (the separation), in a vacation it was contrived with (Sir Robert) Pye, Attorney of the Court of Wards, that my wife's estate was wholly ordered away out of my power, by authority of a lease made unto the Earls of Pembroke and Dorset, to the king's use for eight years, on pretence that she was then a ward to the king, as not having sued out her livery; which being done, nothing was found prevalent to remedy or revoke the act."

Sir Richard further complains that he was compelled by many processes at law to pay several large debts of his wife's which were owing by her before he had even seen her, and, "notwithstanding he could not receive one penny of her estate for any occasion whatever." By reason of these "injustices and pressures" he was forced to sell away his own private estate and to "impawn my goods which by it were quite lost."

In July 1633 he petitioned the king and stated that he was "by sentence of the Star Chamber in Candlemas Term last twelvemonth," committed to the Fleet during his Majesty's pleasure and was decreed to pay to his Majesty £4000 fine, and £4000 more for damages to the Earl of Suffolk.

The earl had not charged petitioner for the said damages as he stood indebted to him in a far greater sum by a decree of Chancery, which the earl refused to pay (viz., his wife's jointure). He prays the king to take his miserable estate into his consideration and to give order for his enlargement, who, after eighteen or nineteen months' imprisonment was left wholly destitute of all means of subsistence. Annexed to the petition is the certificate of James Ingram, deputy warder of the Fleet, that Sir Richard was by sentence of the Star Chamber on February 3, 1632, committed to the Fleet, since which time that was only charged against him, by order of the High Commission Court, that he should stand committed until he gave security by bond not to offer violence to his wife during their separation.

Apparently he received no favourable reply to his petition, "for finding" he writes, "neither justice nor law in England for me, but on the contrary that all passed for justice against me, on October 17, 1633, I gave myself liberty and conveyed myself from England unto the Swede's service in Germany"; and nothing more is heard of him again until the year 1639.

After gaining her separation his emancipated wife lived partly with her brother-in-law, the Earl of Suffolk, and partly in her own house in London. She resumed the name of Howard, by

which she was always known in future; and in legal documents she is described as "Howard als Grenvil." Her children were probably with her; and to their number must be added one George Howard, whose existence, it is to be feared, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a blot on his mother's fair fame; for he was born after the separation and during Sir Richard's absence from England.

CHAPTER II

1639-1644

Takes part in the Scotch expedition—His suit against the Earl of Suffolk—Is sent to suppress the Irish rebellion—His bravery—Charges of cruelty—Is recalled to England—Made Major-General of the Parliamentary Horse—His treacherous desertion—"Skellum Greenvile"—His letter to the Speaker—Is given by the King his wife's estates and a commission to raise troops in Cornwall.

EARLY in 1639 Sir Richard returned from abroad. Hearing of the troubles in Scotland, and ascertaining that the decrees made by the Court of Star Chamber were repealed and persons aggrieved absolved from their penalties, he resolved, notwithstanding all the provocations he had received, and the oppressions he had endured, to lay his life and fortune at the king's feet. He joined the royal army "at the head of a troop composed of the principal gentlemen of Cornwall and Devon, every one with an equipage suitable to his quality."

The king seems to have had no little regard for Sir Richard, probably because he was a brave

soldier and a good officer, qualities which were especially valuable to him just then. In fact he was anxious to give him a command and spoke to the Earl of Arundel to that effect; but the earl told him "it could not be done with honour, Sir Richard having run out of the kingdom," and reminded him of the Star Chamber decree; "to which the King answered he had forgotten." "So he was put by, but he is said to have gotten some one to make an offer to the King that if he would assist him in undoing the sentence of the High Commission Court and getting his wife's estate, the Star Chamber fine should be raised on it." This Lady Howard is told by Maine, her lawyer, and Endymion Porter, to whom Sir Richard had written to be his friend; but Porter sent her word that he knew it would displease her and that he would be hanged at Court Gate before he would do her any injury; for which she sent him a letter of thanks, in which she mentions that "my Lord Hamilton had said to the King (when the latter spoke to the Earl of Arundel about Sir Richard) that on his knowledge he was a Puritan and a Foole."

Sir Richard's elder brother Bevill had now turned Royalist. At first, when he left his former friends, he had resolved to remain neutral and not "to intermeddle with the affairs of the Commonwealth," but at the dying request of Sir Bernard,

his father, in 1636, he had undertaken to retain the command of his regiment and his Deputy-Lieutenancy, if it was offered him, and so had been won over to the king's side; and now that the king was summoning all who held lands of the Crown to furnish him with men-at-arms and to join the Royal Standard at York against the Scots, Bevill Granville was amongst the first to respond to the command. "I cannot contain myselfe within my doors," he wrote to Sir John Trelawny, "when the King of England's standard waves in the field upon so just an occasion, the cause being such as must make all those who dye in it little inferiour to martyrs."

Both brothers therefore hastened to the North with their troops. The English army arrived at Berwick-on-Tweed on May 28, when the king, finding the Scotch army far more formidable than had been anticipated, was forced to evade a battle by consenting to the gathering of a Free Assembly and of a Scotch Parliament.

During the time the negotiations which followed were pending, Bevill received the honour of knighthood from the hand of the king on June 20, as we learn from the following letter from Sir Richard to George Monk's eldest brother, written from Durham, as he was on his way south again.

"Deare Cosen,

"I can send no news to you but that our army is cashiered and a peace concluded betwixt our King and the Scots, during which employment your brother George was Sergeant-Major to my lord of Newport's regiment. At the dissolution of our army the King made but three Knights, viz Sir Bevill Grenvile, Sir John Hele, and Sir James Thynne. Sir, whereas you received £30 of my brother (by my appointment) to your brother George's use, your brother George has informed me that he stands now disengaged of your debt, and you should repay unto me the said £30 whenever I would so require it. Wherefore I now pray you to cause so much to be paid to me at London with all convenient speed and to direct me by your letter of whom I shall receive it. Let your letter be directed to me at London, enclosed in a paper directed unto Mr. Michael Oldesworth, Secretary to the Earl of Pembroke at Whitehall, and so in haste I conclude myself

"Your faithful Kinsman and Servant,

"Richard Grenvile."

Durham, *June* 26, 1639.

(*Superscription*)

To my dear Cosen
Mr. Thomas Moncke
present these
with speede at Potheridge
in Devon.

No sooner had Sir Richard returned to London than he commenced a suit against the Earl of Suffolk, "vowing never to leave petitioning till he had gained his will." Several of his petitions are preserved in the State Papers (Domestic Series) for 1639–40. He also petitioned the Long Parliament against the sentence which the Star Chamber had passed on him; and the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, took up his cause and solicited for him. In fact, as Lady Howard writes from London, there was "a huge stir" about him. A committee was appointed to hear his cause (December 1640), and so hopeful was he of success that he went down to Fitzford, turned out the caretakers, and re-installed his Aunt, Mrs. Abbot, in the house. Lady Howard writes to her agent Cutteford in "a very great distraction" on hearing of these proceedings. Her trust, however, is in God who hath ever been her helper, and she is in better spirits since receiving Cutteford's assurances of his love and care for her. She begs him to write down for her all that Sir Richard says and the names of those that he says shall have a warrant to receive the rents at Christmas. She prays him to learn, if he can, whether Sir Richard has broken open her closet, and whether he has turned "Joan and her husband" out of doors, and how they behaved. "I must look to have all . . . . now Mrs. Abbott is

there. He has nothing from any Court I am sure."

No, Sir Richard, it was true, had nothing from any Court as yet, but his hopes ran high, and on January 8, 1640–1, he borrowed £20 from Sir William Uvedale, "being like to give his lady a great overthrow in Parliament."

But before the case was brought to a conclusion the Irish rebellion broke out, and he was given a command. The insurrection spread like a deluge over the whole country in such an inhuman, merciless manner that forty or fifty thousand English Protestants were massacred without distinction of age, sex, or quality, before they suspected any danger, or could provide for their defence in town or elsewhere. The cruelties and barbarities were innumerable and incredible, and such as might well melt the most obdurate hearts in the world; and never again, perhaps, till the story of the Cawnpore massacres set the nation's teeth, did such frenzy of revenge take possession of the English people. More and more troops were voted every week. Every tale, no matter how hideous and improbable, was greedily believed. It was necessary that something should be done at once. Lord Leicester was ordered to raise two troops of foot and one of horse by voluntary enlistment, and in order that the Parliament might keep a firm hand on the reins, it was further

resolved that he should submit the list of officers he proposed to commission for the approval of the House.

George Monk was nominated lieutenant-colonel of one of Lord Leicester's regiments of foot, with Henry Warren under him as major, whilst Lord Lisle and Lord Algernon Sidney (Lord Leicester's two sons) were nominated for the other one, and Sir Richard Granville was named for the command of all the horse. These nominations were at once approved, and on February 21 the troops landed at Dublin.

At the battle of New Ross, on March 18, the cavalry of Ormonde's army ran away, and one eye-witness gravely impugns Granville's own conduct;* but whether there was justice or not in this criticism, he afterwards distinguished himself at the battle of Kilrush (April 15), and on the capture of Trim (May 8) was appointed Governor of that place. The following October he rescued the brave Lady Digby (Lettice, daughter and heiress of Gerald Lord Offaley, and afterwards created Baroness Offaley for life), who had been besieged by the rebels in her castle of Greashill, which she had defended with great courage for several months. Her portrait at Sherborne Castle represents her with a book,

* Carte's "Ormonde," 2, 432; Meehan's "Confederation of Kilkenny"; Creighton's "Narrative," 293.

with the text (Job xix. 20) "I am escaped with the skin of my teeth" inscribed on it.

In January of the following year (1643) he also successfully relieved the Earl of Clanricarde, who was besieged in Athlone. He had been despatched from Dublin with 900 foot and 200 horse to convey provisions, and on his march he was encountered by a large body of the rebels, but forced his way through all opposition to Mullingar, where he arrived on January 29, and advanced next day to Athlone, where he delivered the provisions under his care to the Lord President. Having rested two or three days there, he set out with his cavalry about February 5, and, having again passed Mullingar, was met on the 7th of that month by a body of the enemy at Rathconnel in a position of great disadvantage to him. The rebels numbered 3400 foot and six troops of horse, but Sir Richard defeated them with a loss of 250 killed and a number of prisoners, amongst whom was Colonel Anthony Preston, the General's eldest son.

His bravery did not escape the notice of the king, who wrote on March 8 to the Marquis of Ormonde to give Sir Richard his "special thanks for his great services and singular constant affections."

Unfortunately there was a difference of opinion as to the manner in which the rebels should be

dealt with. Some were for pursuing all advantages against them in the field; others for gaining them over by treaties and conciliation. Lord Leicester was said to encourage the former method, Lord Ormonde the latter. Granville and Monk sided with Lord Leicester, to whom they were greatly attached, having served under him in the Low Countries, and they agreed with him in thinking that this was one of those cases in which severity becomes necessary justice.

Sir Richard has been accused by Archdeacon Echard in his "History of the Irish Rebellion" of great cruelty in his conduct in putting down the insurrection. Innumerable inventions of both English and Irish barbarities were published on both sides too outrageous to be implicitly believed. The extravagant exaggerations of parties exasperated against one another, especially where religion is concerned, are never to be literally credited. Nevertheless, in fire and blood the wretched Irish had to do penance for their outburst of savagery to which they had been goaded by Strafford's imperious rule, and knowing what we do of Sir Richard's character in after years, it is quite possible that Archdeacon Echard's charge is not altogether incorrect. Gardiner, in his "History of the Great Civil War," sums up his character as "a selfish and unprincipled man who

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had gone through the evil schooling of the Irish War."

Sir Richard and Monk took no pains to conceal their feelings against the policy of the Marquis of Ormonde, and expressed themselves so strongly that their words were reported to the king, who ordered their immediate return, or, as Lord Lansdown euphemistically expresses it, "they were importuned by letters to come to England for His Majestie's service."

The great civil war was at this time raging in England. The king's standard had been set up at Nottingham on August 22 in the previous year. The north and west of England, and especially Cornwall, where Sir Bevill Granville's influence had been exerted with signal success, had provided him with his strongest adherents, while the south and east and the manufacturing districts in particular favoured Parliament. So far the advantage in the struggle had been decidedly on the king's side. In the spring and summer of this year (1643) a Cornish army had conquered all the west with the exception of Plymouth, and the Marquis of Newcastle had recovered Yorkshire. The fate of the Parliamentary cause seemed to depend on the question whether Gloucester and Hull would hold out. But the Earl of Essex had relieved Gloucester, and defeated at Newbury the king's attempt to

intercept his march back to London, whilst three weeks later Newcastle was forced to raise the siege of Hull.

It was just at this crisis that Granville and Monk landed at Liverpool. According to Lord Lansdown, private advice had been sent to the king by Lord Ormonde to have them both put under arrest at their landing "as dangerous men, whose design it was to engage with the Parliament." This advice was inconsiderately taken. Immediately upon their arrival Lord Hawley, the Governor, produced his order, signed by the king, which he executed very unwillingly, being a friend and kinsman to them both, and not doubting their innocence. In fact, they so perfectly satisfied him that he took their parole of honour to repair to his Majesty, who was then at Oxford. This they both performed, though by different routes and methods. Monk went straight to the king and was immediately given a regiment. Sir Richard kept his word, but in a different way. Great arrears were due to him for his services in Ireland, for which the Parliament, who had taken the management of that war out of the king's hands into their own, was responsible. Under that pretence he repaired to London and boldly made his demand. He was graciously received and no temptation was omitted that might engage him in their service;

his reputation as an officer and the credit of his name and family in the west made it worth their while. He took the hint and dexterously flattered their hopes till he had obtained all he could desire.

His arrears were paid and a vote of thanks passed "for the great services and advantage done by his courage and valour to the Protestant religion against the Papist rebels in Ireland;" they gave him a commission of Major-General of their horse and a regiment, with power to name his officers, whom he failed not to choose out of the most trusty of his friends and dependents. "O credulous Parliament! If Sir Richard Grenville was indeed a Red Fox, what were the sagacious ones who harkened to him!"* He was admitted to the councils of the Parliamentary Generals, and Sir William Waller especially communicated to him all his designs, the first and foremost of which was to surprise Basing House, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester, with the connivance of Lord Charles Paulet, the Marquis's brother, who had the custody of the place. For the better execution of it, Sir Richard was to be sent ahead with his horse, so that all things might be well disposed and prepared against the time when Waller should join him.

Having received from Parliament a consider-

* Lilly's "Almanack," 1645; Merc. Britt., No. 42, 1644.

able sum of money for his equipage, "in which," Lord Clarendon says, "he always affected more than ordinary lustre," he set out from London on March 2, in a coach drawn by six horses, accompanied by other stately appointments, amidst the plaudits and blessings of the citizens. His banner was carried in front—a map of England and Wales on a crimson ground with the words "England Bleeding" inscribed in large gold letters across the top! At Bagshot a halt was called. Sir Richard harangued his officers and men, setting forth the sinfulness of fighting against their anointed king, and concluded by inviting them all to follow him to Oxford to fight *for* the king instead of *against* him. The officers all cheerfully assented, and followed by most of his soldiers, Sir Richard went straight to Oxford and presented himself to the king with a well-equipped troop, with the secret of the plan of campaign for the coming season, and particularly with the news of Paulet's intended treachery at Basing House, which, thanks to the timely warning, was saved.

Naturally the Parliamentary Press was furious at such gross treachery, and piled up its choicest epithets on the traitor's head, calling him "A Turke, Infidell, a Limme of the Devill," &c. The duped and deceived Parliament, likewise, hurled thunders at him, and caused two gibbets

to be erected, one in the Palace Yard, Westminster, and the other over against the Royal Exchange, where a proclamation was made by the Provost-Marshal and Trumpeters of Essex's army in the following words, which were affixed on each side of the gibbets:

"Whereas Richard Greenville hath of late presented his service unto the Parliament and hath been entertained by the Parliament as Colonel of a regiment of Horse; and whereas the said Greenvile, contrary to his Promise, Engagement, and Honour of a Soldier, hath basely, unworthily, and faithlessly deserted the said service, and feloniously carried away the money paid unto him in regard to the said service—These are to proclaim the said Greenvile Traitor, Rogue, Villain, and Skellum,* not only incapable of military employment, but of all acquaintance and conversation with men of honesty and honour. And this Proclamation in the meanwhile to be nailed to the gallows, whilst it shall please God to deliver the said Greenvile into the hands of Justice, that he

* *Skellum.* This word (according to the "Bibliotheca Devoniensis," p. 76) was derived from the German "Schelme," and meant a scoundrel. Burns has the term in his "Tam-o'-Shanter," "she tauld thee weel thou wast a skellum." According to Mr. Rider Haggard, who uses the word in his novel "Jess," it is still in vogue among the Boers in South Africa, and means "a vicious beast." The epithet was deemed so suitable for Sir Richard Granville that he was ever afterwards known as "Skellum Grenville."

himself may supply the room of this Proclamation.

"Done this 15th of March."

There was a good deal of changing sides during the Civil War, but there had been nothing as yet parallel to this, except the desertion of Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had gone over with his troop from the Parliamentary to the Royalist army in the middle of the battle of Edgehill. The same excuse has been made for both, namely, that they were Royalists at heart, but having been employed by Parliament before any disruption was thought of, only awaited the best opportunity for their own personal interests of declaring their real sentiments. This, however, scarcely justifies Sir Richard Granville's gross deception, nor even does his vindicator, Lord Lansdown, attempt to do so, but remarks that "all that can be said for it is that it was putting the old soldier upon a pack of knaves and biting the biter."

The Parliamentarians never forgave Sir Richard's gross treachery, and he was "excepted as to life and estate" in the propositions to the king, September 1644; November 1645 and November 1648, and he was banished and his estates impeached March 16, 1648–9.

Sir Richard addressed the following letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons in expla-

nation of his conduct immediately after his arrival at Oxford.

"To the Honourable WILLIAM LENTHALL, Speaker of the House of Commons—present these.

"SIR,

"My employment in Ireland in His Majesty's army, under the pay of the Parliament, and my faithful carriage in it against the rebels there, is sufficiently known; and to say no more of it, since it concerns myself, I thank God I can look back upon those actions with some comfort, and the more that I prosecuted them with a sincere affection to the upholding of the Protestant Religion in that Kingdom, so well as His Majesty's just and undoubted right to that Crown. The occasion of my coming over is well known too; and truly it was with many sad thoughts of the distractions and miseries of my native country. And I assure you it was without the least design of engaging myself; for I knew my allegiance to my sovereign was a check to me to lift up my hand against him. And the reverence I bore to the name of Parliament (which I find hath and doth deceive many), thwarted any resolution in offering my service to his Majesty, where I knew it was due. I contented myself to think that I had served

both without dislike to either, and that therefore I might intend my own particular, and before I anyway engaged myself, if I should do so in the future, do it upon knowledge and not report.

"Landing at Liverpool in August last I found both there and at Warrington that great suspicions were had of me and also of my lord Lisle that we had brought over great store of treasure; and the itch was so great to plunder us thereof and of our horses, etc., that it was told me what we had was most useful to their good cause in hand; if we were friends it should be lent; but if we were other, they must not let slip such an advantage. And truly, though we had insolences offered us, yet Col. John Booth, by his discretion and good usage of us, kept them from committing those barbarous injuries I found they were inclined unto. This wakened me, and I soon perceived that if this were the justice of those pretenders to religion and reformation, the many complaints I had heard from many honest men were not without cause. In short, from thence with great difficulty I was permitted to come up with a strict sense guard to London, whence the source and spring of all our miseries flows. There, Sir, to speak plain English to you, I found religion was the cloak of rebellion, and it seemed not strange to me, when I found there was so little left of the

Protestant Religion, as there were few of the learned and reverend divines that were wont to preach it. There I found the subject's liberty had a strange guard for it, his conscience being forced to submit to many unlawful oaths; (though it pleased God I escaped them all;) his estate was liable, upon interpretation of a necessitous party, to be extracted from him; and the whole government there was but a necessity of oaths and money for subjects to compound to keep part of their own. The privileges of Parliament I know not many of them, and yet it was very visible that the great privilege of this Parliament was to be none of the former. This some discreet and sober friends in divers particulars made very clear to me. How the King's name was used against himself was as odious to me as ridiculous. Sir, by this you will see I have lived some time amongst you, in which, I must confess, I endeavoured to have despatched some of my own occasions concerning my private fortune, but without it were obliging me in some command, which I conceive had an eye to your own service, I found so little service as any other man. At last I conceived that this might be a design to have a hold and an engagement upon me in a service I was so ill satisfied in. Therefore I withdrew myself to my becoming and lawful duty to His Majesty, at whose feet I have now laid

myself; from whence no fortune, terror, or cruelty shall make me swerve.

"This, Sir, in satisfaction to you and the world. So I rest, as I expect you should term me,

"Your malignant Servant,

"Richard Grenvile."

Oxford, 1643.

The king received Sir Richard with much favour, though he did not immediately give him a command in his army as he had done to Monk, but only a commission to raise additional troops in Cornwall. But he gave him what he desired much more, namely all his wife's estates in Devonshire, on the ground that her continued residence in London made her a rebel. Yet the Earl of Suffolk, her brother-in-law, fought for the king, and so did several of the Courtenays, her mother's relations; and it was probably accident rather than design that explained her residence in London at this time.

Sir Richard lost no time in securing the estates. Exactly a fortnight after he left London with his Parliamentary troop he was at Tavistock with authority to take possession of them. His first action was to revenge himself on his wife's agent, George Cutteford, for his continuous opposition to "his felonious little plans." A Royalist army under Prince Maurice was quartered at this time

at Tavistock. From him Sir Richard obtained a warrant addressed "to the Provost Marshal General, his Deputy or Deputys, together with any of his majestyes officers or loving subjects."

"Forasmuch as George Cutteford of Wallraddon in the County of Devon, gent, hath received great somes of money of Sir Richard Grenevyle's tenants, without giveinge any account to Sir Richard Grenevyle for the same, These are to authorize and require you to remit to safe custodye the person of the said George Cutteford, untill hee shall satisfye Sir Richard Grenevyle's just demands; hereof you are not to fail at your perill.

"Given at Tavistocke under my hand and seale at Armes this xvjth of March 1643.

"MAURICE."

Armed with this warrant Sir Richard delivered Cutteford to the custody of the Provost-Marshal-General; forcibly entered Walreddon, Cutteford's house; thrust his wife and children out of doors; took and detained corn, cattle, sheep, and household goods to the value of £500; caused his wife, Grace Cutteford, to be imprisoned, and would have imprisoned his son George also but that he could not find him.

After being six months in prison, Cutteford petitioned the king on his return from Cornwall

after defeating Lord Essex, for a hearing, and expressly asked that Sir Richard might be ordered "to prosecute noe further against his son, against whom the only thing Sir Richard could object was 'that he lived in the house with his mother, while Essex his forces were in this parts;' which allegation is most untrue; or if it had been true your petitioner hopeth it doth not deserve imprisonment." He specially begged that his son might be left in peace, that he (the petitioner) might be the better enabled to provide for himself a hearing by "getting his writings and evidences which none but your petitioner and his son can produce, they being hidden away for fear of the Parliament's forces." This last sentence is particularly interesting inasmuch as a small secret chamber was recently discovered at Walreddon containing chicken bones, &c.; perhaps the very place where young George Cutteford was hidden away with the precious papers!

Ultimately Cutteford's case was heard on November 7, 1644, before Sir John Berkeley and four other judges, who decreed in Sir Richard's favour and ordered all arrears in rent to be paid to him. At the same time they ordered Cutteford and his family to be set at liberty and to be given back the possession of Walreddon.

CHAPTER III

1644

Conducts the siege of Plymouth—His letter to the Governor and the contemptuous reply thereto—Contradictory accounts respecting the siege—Lydford Law—Lord Essex relieves Plymouth—Sir Richard's retreat to Truro—Approach of the King—Royalist successes—Lord Bath and his horses.

SIR RICHARD, as already stated, when he first came down to Devonshire, had no command but only a commission to raise troops in Cornwall; but when Sir John Digby, who was conducting the siege of Plymouth, was wounded in a sally on March 15, Sir Richard was appointed in his place by Prince Maurice at the earnest request of Sir John Berkeley.

The Plymouth of to-day gives no idea of the closely packed town of the middle of the seventeenth century. It was about a third larger than the contemporary Barnstaple, with a population estimated by Mr. Worth at about six thousand, in the same proportion. It was an irregular quadrangle in shape, one side bounded by the water

of its inner harbour, Sutton Pool; the other three sides imperfectly protected by the mediæval town walls. Beyond this line of defence, however, a series of detached earthworks had been thrown up by the besieged; and with the advantage of an open communication with the sea the town had been successfully held against repeated assaults so far.

The siege had commenced the previous autumn, not without great difficulties on the part of the Royalists, however, as is evidenced by the fact that they threatened to hang all who would not join their forces; but Sir Richard boasted that he would soon enter the town. On assuming the command he first addressed the following letter to Colonel Gould, the Governor of Plymouth, "together with the officers and souldiers now at the Fort and Towne of Plimmouth."

"GENTLEMEN,

"That it may not seeme strange unto you, to understand of my being ingaged in His Majistie's service, to come against *Plimouth* as an enemy, I shall let you truly know the occasion thereof. It is very true, that I came from *Ireland* with a desire and intention to look after my own particular fortune in England, and not to ingage myself in any kind in the very unhappy difference betwixt the King and the pretended Parliament

now at *London.* But chancing to land at *Liverpoole*, the Parliament's forces there brought me to London, where, I must confesse, I received from both the pretended houses of Parliament great tokens of favour, and also importunate motions to ingage me to serve them, which I civilly refused. Afterwards divers honourable persons of the pretended Parliament importuned me to undertake their service for the government and defence of *Plymuth*, unto which my answer was that it was fit (before I ingaged myselfe) I should understand what meanes they could and would allow and provide for the effectual performance of that service. Upon that a Committee appointed for the West thought fit with all speede to send a present reliefe of Men and Munition to *Plymouth*, which with very great difficulty was brought thither, being the last you had. Afterwards there were many meetings more of that Committee, to provide the means that should give *Plymouth* reliefe, and enable it to defend itself; and notwithstanding the earnest desires and endeavours of that Committee accordingly, I protest before God, after moneths expectation and attendance on that Committee by me, I found no hopes or likelyhood of but reasonable meanes for the reliefe and defence of Plymouth, which made me account it a lost towne, and the reather because I, being by Commission Lieut. Generall to Sir *William Waller*,

had an ordinance of the Parliament for the raising of 500 horse for my regement at the charges of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, who in three moneths time had not raised four troopes ; and my own Troope, when I left them, having two months pay due to them, could get but one month, for which extraordinary meanes was used, being a favour none else could obtain ; it being very true that the Parliament's forces have all been unpaid for many months in such sort that they are grown weak both in men and monies, and have only by good words kept their forces from disbanding. The processe of so long time spent at *London* made me and many others see the iniquity of their Policy ; for I found Religion was the cloake of Rebellion, and it seemed not strange to me when I found the Protestant Religion was infected by so many Independents and sectaries of infinite kinds, which would not heare of a plan, but such as would be in some kind as pernicious as was the warre. The Privilidges of this Parliament I found was not to be found by any of the former, but to lay them aside and alter them as they advantaged their party. This seemed so odious to me that I resolved to lay myself, as I have done, at His Ma: feete, from whence and his most just cause no fortune, terrour, or cruelty shall make me swerve, in any kind. And to let you see also what hath formerly past, I have sent

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you those inclosed. Now for a farewell. I must wish and advise you out of the true and faithful love and affection I am bound to have towards mine own county, that you speedily consider your great charges, losses, and future dangers by making and holding yourselves enemies to His Majestie, who doth more truly desire your safety and welfare than it seemes you doe yourselves; wherefore (as yet my friends) I desire you to resolve speedily of your Propositions for Peace, by which you may soon injoy your liberties, contents, and estates; but on the contrary, the contrary, which with a sad heart I speake, you will very soon see the effect of. Thus my affection urgeth me to impart unto you, out of the great desire I have, rather to regaine my lost old friends by love than by force to subjecte them to ruine; and on that consideration I must thus conclude.

"Your loving friend,

"RICH: GRENVILE.

"FITZFORD, *Martij* 18, 1643."

The enclosure in Sir Richard's letter was a book entitled "The Iniquity of the Covenant," which was burnt by order of the Council of War by the common hangman, and a proclamation was made that all those who had any of these books and did not bring them forth should be held and dealt with as enemies to the State and town.

The following is the contemptuous answer sent by the Commanders of the garrison to his letter :

"Sir,

"Though your Letter meriting our highest contempt and scorne, which once we thought fit by our silence (judging it unworthy of an answer) to have testified; yet, considering that yourself intend to make it publique, we offer you these lines that the world may see what esteem we have of the man notorious for Apostacy and Treachery, and that we are ready to dispute the justice and equity of our cause in any lawful way, whereto the enemy shall at any time challenge us. You might well have spared the giving us an account of your dissimulation with the Parliament : we were soone satisfied, and our wonder is not so great that you are now gone from us, as at first when we understood of your engagement to us; and to tell you truth it pleased us not so well to hear you were named to be Governor for this place, as now it doth to know you are in arms against us, we accounting ourselves safer to have you an enemy abroad than a pretended friend at home, being persuaded that your principels could not afford cordiall endeavors for an honest cause. You tell us of the pretended Houses of Parliament at London—a threadbare scandal suck't from 'Aulicus,' whose reward or

bp's blessing you may chance to be honoured with for your Court-service,—and how they make religion the cloak of Rebellion, a garment which we are confident your rebellion will never be clad with. You advise us to consider the great charge we have been at, and the future dangers we run ourselves into, by making ourselves enemies to His Majesty, who more desires our good than we ourselves, and thus would have us prepare conditions for Peace.

"That we have bin at great charges already we are suficiently sensible, and yet resolve that it shall not in any way lessen our affections to that cause, with which God hath honoured us, by making us instruments to plead it against the malicious adversaries. If the King be our enemy, yet *Oxford* cannot proove that we have made him so. That His Majestie desires our welfare we can easily admit, as well as that it's his mischievous Counsellors so neere him who render him cruel to his most faithful subjects. And as for proposing conditions for peace, we shall most gladly do it when it may advance the publique service; but to do it to the enemies of peace, though we have bin thereto formally invited, yet it hath pleased the Disposer of all things to preserve us from the necessity of it, and to support us against all the fury of the inraged enemy. The same God is still our rock and refuge, under whose wings we doubt not of protection and safety

when the Seducers of a King shall die like a candle, and that name, which by such courses is sought to be perpetual in honour, shall end in ignominy.

"For the want of money to pay the Parliament's souldiers, though it is not such as you would persuade us, yet certain we are their treasury had now bin greater, and honest men better satisfied, but that some as unfaithful as yourself have gone before you in betraying them both of their trust and riches.

"Whereas you remind us of the lost condition of our Town, sure it cannot be you should be so truly persuaded of it, as they are of your personall, who subscribe themselves and so remaine,

"FRIENDS TO THE FAITHFUL."

Having thus failed to induce the garrison to come to terms, Sir Richard commenced his siege of the town by throwing up a new earthwork on Mount Batten, "which doth endammage all shipping coming in and going out," and he also cut off the water-power, so that the rebels within were distressed for mills to grind their flour. But as regards actual fighting, it is a little difficult to be quite certain how matters fared at this period between the besiegers and the besieged, as the accounts given by each contending party differ considerably.

The garrison evidently made frequent sorties, beating up the Royalists' quarters, and according to Vicars, Sir Richard was being continually repulsed. Thus on April 17, Colonel Martin, who was now Governor of the town (Colonel Gould having died the previous month), marched out against him with the greater part of the troops under his command, and a sharp contest took place in which Sir Richard lost two companies, who were taken prisoners and compelled to take the Covenant, two barrels of powder, and forty of the cavalry. And "The Perfect Diurnall" of May 4 afterwards confirmed this account, stating that the sortie was successful, forty prisoners being taken, together with twenty horses and some ammunition.

On the other hand, the Royalist account of the same engagement says, "The rebels at Plymouth sped somewhat better though with more dishonour, for on Wednesday last, April 17, they spied their opportunity, and with most of their strength sallied out a little way to St. Budocks Church, where 160 new raised men of Sir John Grenvile's (son of that famous valiant Sir Bevill) were scarce warm in their quarters; and there the rebels made no doubt but to sweep all away, coming above 700 strong (600 foot and 120 horse), but they were so shamefully repulsed by Major Collins, whom the Governor of Saltash sent with 30 muskettiers, that

they took nothing with them but ten common souldiers, and those they made run so fast with them into Plymouth that two of them for hast broke their necks by the way; not one of Sir John's men being killed upon the place" ("Mercurius Aulicus," April 23).

Two days afterwards Colonel Martin again beat up the Royalist quarters at Newbridge on the way to Plympton. The Cavaliers (according to the Parliamentarian papers) were beaten from hedge to hedge, and a breastwork was captured in advance of the bridge; but their ammunition giving out, Colonel Martin was compelled to beat a retreat which they did "fairly and without the loss of a man."

Again, two days afterwards (April 21), an attack was made from Prince Rock upon the Cavalier Guard at Pomphlet Mill, and the Royalist garrison "fled like hares." Prisoners and provisions were brought in. This, however, was apparently but a small affair.

On May 11, the Cavaliers were the assailants, and a more formidable expedition attacked the enemy at Jump, then called "The Jump" or "Trenaman's Jump." This sortie issued from Hopton's Work, probably an old fortification of the besiegers opposite Maudlyn. It consisted of 1000 foot and 100 horse, 400 musketeers and 25 horse "making good the way about Compton" to

prevent a flank attack. The enemy were beaten out of their quarters and 100 brought back prisoners, despite attempts at rescue.

The next attack on the besieging force took place on May 15, and was directed against Mount Edgecumbe House, which was only defended by 30 musketeers ; "but they were so well received by that gallant gentleman Master Piers Edgecumbe that above 80 of the rebels were killed in the place with the losse onely of one man in the House. The rebells, understanding that more aid was coming in, ran back again, taking 12 of their dead men unto their boats, of whose burial they had more care than ordinary, especially one commander, whose funeral in Plymouth the rebells solemnized with three great volleys " ("Mercurius Aulicus," May 18).

Very different, however, is the account of this affair given by the other party. It appears that Colonel Martin sent Captain Haynes with three hundred men from Cremill (now Devil's Point) to Mount Edgecumbe, himself following with twenty horse when the passage was open.

On his arrival he dispatched the following summons to Mount Edgecumbe, but without effect. "To prevente the Efusyon of Chrystian Blood I doe heerbye Require you ymediately to deliver Mount edgecumbe house unto mee for ye use of the Kinge & Pliam^{t}. And y^{u} shall have

fayre quarter ; w^ch^ if you shall Refuse, I have acquitted myselfe from the guilte of the Blood w^ch^ be spilte in obtayninge my just desire.

"Rob^t^ Marten.

"Passage 15th *May*, 1644.

"To the Governor of
Mount Edgecumbe House : these."

The landing was affected at the Warren, near the old Blockhouse yet standing in the gardens. Here were mounted three small guns which used greatly to annoy the boats going to Stonehouse. These were captured at the outset, the gunners retreating to the house. Finding that his summons produced no result Martin left a party to watch the garrison and pressed onward. Maker Church Tower was assaulted and taken and therein a barrel of powder. A fort at Cawsand was surrendered. Millbrook, entrenched and garrisoned by 250 men, was carried. A fort at Inceworth was abandoned on the approach of the victorious Roundheads. But the captives could not be held. The Cavaliers came down in force from their headquarters on the Cornish side of the Tamar at Saltash, and so Colonel Martin retreated with his booty, which was considerable, viz, 12 pieces of captured cannon and 200 prisoners.

On the road he assaulted Mount Edgecumbe but was repulsed. The banqueting-hall and the out-

offices were burnt, but the main building, being of stone, was not to be dealt with in that summary way. According to Colonel Martin the casualties in this affair were very slight, not a tithe of the 80 slain by the writer in "Mercurius Aulicus." When the sortie returned it was learnt that the besiegers had attacked the outworks with 1000 horse and foot and had been beaten back.

On the 22nd of the same month (May) Warleigh House was assailed and 50 horses taken, but this was not effected without loss, for the party were considerably harassed in their return.

Another sortie was made towards the end of the month, the besiegers falling on the rebels at Millbrook and capturing nine cannon, 150 prisoners, 100 cows and 500 sheep. The killed on both sides was stated to be 16. "Collonell Marten, the Governour of Plymouth, doth also certifie that he is in good posture of defence, onely he desires that some further supply of provisions be sent unto him." ("Perfect Diurnal," May 29.) This shows that the blockade on the land side was very effectual. The wonder is that having command of the sea the Parliament did not completely remove the pressure of want of victuals.

There were numerous other small skirmishes during the month of June, ending sometimes in favour of the Royalists, sometimes of the Round-

heads, but without any decided results. The latter boasted that they gave no especial prominence to their minor successes, as their commanders were more desirous to serve their God and Country than "gaggle like hens on the laying of every egg"—an insinuation that Sir Richard was over much vaunting of his petty triumphs. They were content to be "neither idle and successless on land nor lotterless at sea," and they appealed to "how the Lord doth always work for this poor and distressed garrison."

All prisoners which Sir Richard captured were as a rule dispatched to Lydford Castle under the custody of his marshal, where soon afterwards they were executed without a trial as guilty of high treason, and Mr. A. H. A. Hamilton, in his "Quarter Sessions," p. 151, suggests that even a worse fate awaited some, for he cites the sad case of Walter Yolland, "a faithful soldier of the Commonwealth, who was starved to death there by the inhuman dealing of the enemy." One of his earliest prisoners was James Hals of Efford, who was Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Boscawen's regiment defending Plymouth. He was captured in one of the sorties and sent to Lydford, but Sir Richard spared his life on account of consanguinity, "but not without many frowns and angry threats, a sure token of his clemency, as his smiles and embraces were of death and

destruction, suitable to those of King Richard III., King James I. and Caius Caligula, Emperor of Rome—to dissuade him from the Parliament service to that of the King's, with the promise of great preferment in his army; all of which proving ineffectual, he was sentenced a straight and close prisoner to that tremendous castle in daily expectation of death; where he remained immured up for about twenty months' space, in great want, durance, and misery, till General Essex came into those parts with the Parliament army, and set at liberty him and other Parliament prisoners, raised the seige of Plymouth, and sore distressed Hopton and Grenville at Cornwall." *

There seem to have been frequent changes in the command of the besieged. Certain gentle-

* The well-known verses on Lydford law were written by William Browne, the Tavistock poet, contemporary of Shakespeare and Spenser, and have reference to Sir Richard Granville's cruelties rather than to Judge Jeffreys, as is generally supposed, and who did not live, or at least practise his brutalities, for another forty years (1685). Browne, in 1644, coming to visit his friend Hals when a prisoner there, wrote the verses afterwards. They begin with the following allusion:

"I oft have heard of Lydford law;
How in the morn they hang and draw,
And sit in judgment after;
At first I wondered at it much,
But since I find the matter such
As it deserves no laughter."

men of Devon and Cornwall had petitioned the House of Commons for an "Honourable Lord" (? Lord Robartes) to be Governor of Plymouth and chief in command of the Parliament's forces in those two counties, and a long debate ensued on this in the House on May 10.

The result was that a soldier and commoner from Scotland, Colonel Kerr, was appointed in succession to Colonel Martin, who shortly afterwards died of wounds he had received. This officer arrived in Plymouth on June 14, "and was with very great expressions of love and joy entertained by the garrison and whole town." Letters from Plymouth to the House of Commons, dated July 3, state that "the town was in a very good condition, and joyfull in their valorous new Governour, Colonell Carre; that the towne was not only able to defend itselfe, but was sending forth three thousand horse and foote into the field against the common enemy." This apparently was a very successful sortie for them. It was made in the direction of Newbridge between Plymouth and Plympton, probably near Marsh Mills. Prince Maurice, it appears, had joined Sir Richard Granville, but the Royalists were repulsed in great disorder and with considerable loss. Captain John Arundel and two or three other officers and many soldiers were killed; Colonel Sir John Digby was badly wounded in

the face, and Sir Richard himself escaped with difficulty.

The "Mercurius Aulicus" of July 5, as usual claims a victory over this affair, and, whilst deploring the loss of Arundel, remarks: "'Tis our constant unhappiness that the rebell's bullets must fall among gallant men, though ours must hit such as are not worth the shot and powder."

But the news of the approach of the king and his army caused the brave garrison to falter and an urgent message was despatched to Lord Essex, who was then at Tiverton, to assure him that "the people in these parts could no longer be safely abandoned to their own resources."

Essex, on receiving the message, hesitated whether he should hasten to Bath and intercept the advance of the king, or move upon Plymouth and clear the country between Tavistock and that town. The importunities from the port were too loud to be disregarded, and leaving the king's road open he marched to the west. Sir Richard, who had now only 500 foot and 300 horse, in order to avoid being between two fires, was compelled to raise the siege, and to retire first on Tavistock and then into Cornwall, abandoning all his positions. "At Fort Stamford four guns were taken, and at Plymton eight, whilst at Saltash, and at a great fort (wherever that may have been) there were found more cannon and many armes."

Meanwhile Lord Essex had advanced as far as Tavistock, where he took up his quarters, and from thence, with his own regiment and another, "marched against Skellum Greenvill's house" (Fitzford). They were resisted on the way by some forces that lined the hedges, "which after some dispute they passed, and after the salute of some great shot against the house on Tuesday, the 23rd of July, they within desired parley, and on Wednesday morning hung out their white Flag; but the souldiers had not patience to treat, but got over the walls and entered the House. The souldiers within called for quarter, but they would not promise it to them; so the enemy threw down their arms and committed themselves to the Lord Generall's mercy. His souldiers told them 'if they were all English they should have mercy, but not if there were any Irish.' There were about six score in the house, three score have taken the Covenant, and the rest are not so willing and are still prisoners." There was in the house "excellent pillage for the souldiers," says Vicars, "even at least 3000 pound in money and plate, and other provisions in great quantity. . . . Two canon, and there was a room full of excellent new muskets and many pairs of pistolls as good as can be bought for money."

The newspapers were full of the capture of Fitzford. They rang the changes on Essex's

valour and the discomfiture of the "State Apostate," "the most impious and impudent, rotten-hearted, Skellum Greenvill," "The Runagado," who "flies from Westminster as from the Galowes."

Lord Essex, having relieved Plymouth and strengthened his army with 2500 troops from that town, now perpetrated the irretrievable blunder of following Sir Richard into Cornwall "to clear that country." Continuing his march on the 26th, he advanced to the Tamar at two points, viz., Newbridge and Horsebridge. At the former place Sir Richard's forces, consisting of three regiments of foot (Colonels Acland, Fortescue, and Carew's), were in position to dispute the passage.

A hot encounter ensued, in which Essex lost forty men against Granville's 400, or 200 according to Whitelock. A regiment of Plymouth horse is recorded to have charged bravely. It does not add to our estimate of Granville's qualities as a soldier, or to our opinion of his men, that Essex was enabled to effect the passage so easily. The sides of the gorge of the Tamar at Gunnislake are exceedingly steep, even precipitous, the river deep, and Granville's force, if small, ought to have inflicted great loss on the assailants.

Essex entering Cornwall seized Launceston,

the shire town, "where they took divers barrels of powders," and Granville "like a man of honour and courage, kept a good body together, and, after having suffered however some loss in a skirmish at Lostwithiel with Lord Robartes' brigade, retreated in good order to Truro, endeavouring actively to raise a force sufficient to oppose his further advance" (Walker's "Historical Discourses," 1707, p. 49).

Writing from Truro on the 29th, to his nephew Sir John Granville, Sir Richard says:

"We have here made a stand with our forces, and the garrisons of Saltash and Millbroke and others considerable have come up and added to our former, and we hope well."

His horse was also augmented by an additional hundred, under the command of Captain Edward Brett, being the queen's escort which were left behind when her Majesty embarked from Pendennis Castle for France.

An official report to the Parliament, dated August 6, states that "the Earl of Essex with his forces has dispersed the forces of Sir Richard Greenville, and made some of them to fly to Penrhyn, St. Michael's Mount, Launceston, Saltash, and Foy; thus securing a good store of ammunition and other provisions, Divers gentlemen of the country came in to his Lordship, and, as we are nformed by letters from the Lord Admiral, there

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came lately 1500 foot with some horses well armed."

This, however, was scarcely a true statement of fact, for when Essex reached Bodmin bitter disappointment awaited him. The assurances of the "Western Men" that he "should want no victuals in Cornwall, and that a great part of the county stood well supported," proved to be an utter delusion. The county had almost unanimously risen for the king, who was already in hot pursuit of him, and fearing to be assailed at a distance from the sea he proceeded to Lostwithiel, where he contented himself with taking up a strong position and awaiting the Royal troops, The king arrived at Exeter on July 26, and after staying a few days to rest his troops and to see his infant daughter, whom the queen had been obliged to leave there under the care of Lady Dalkeith, he proceeded on the 29th to Bow, on the 30th to Okehampton, and the next day quartered at Lifton, on the Tamar. Here he received a message from Sir Richard urging him to hasten forwards. The king dismissed the messenger with the reply that he was "coming with all possible speed with an army of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse and 28 pieces of cannon." Passing through Launceston, which Essex had evacuated five days previously, he marched to Trecarrel, in the parish of Lezant, the residence

of Mr. Ambrose Manaton, where he slept the night, his army being quartered around him in the fields.

The next morning, about four, he continued his march and came that night to Liskeard. At Caradon Hill, outside the town, he effected a junction with Prince Maurice's army, and the two together advanced to the town, where the people were both loyal and zealous, probably because the manor was his son's lands in right of his Duchy of Cornwall. Upon the king's arrival at Liskeard, the people gave him private notice that next day several of the officers of Essex's army were to dine at Lord Mohun's house, Boconnoc, which had been seized by them. On the morrow accordingly, the King sent a party of horse, and by surprise took them all prisoners (except General Dalbier, who made his escape disguised as one of Lord Mohun's servants) and brought them to Liskeard.

The king then drew his army away from that town and marched westwards to the old battle ground of 1643, where Hopton and Sir Bevill Granville had defeated Colonel Ruthven, namely, Bradock Down. Here the enemy lay encamped, and here, in sight of them, the Royal army also pitched their camp, the king occupying Boconnoc. Having some suspicions of the fidelity of Lord Wilmot, who commanded the cavalry, the king

superseded him and put General Goring in his place. On Thursday, August 8, the whole of the king's army (except Sir Richard's contingent, which was still near Truro) lay on Bradock Down, and consisted of about 17,000 foot and horse. Towards night his foot were still moving nearer and nearer to the enemy, and this they continued to do through the night, pressing towards Lostwithiel.

From the notorious indignities which the Earl of Essex had received from the Parliament, the king determined to try if he could be induced to leave that side and come over to his. For this purpose he sent him a letter written by himself, the bearer of which was Beauchamp, Lord Essex's nephew, suggesting a treaty of peace; to which Lord Essex replied that according to the commission he had received he would defend the king's person and posterity, and that the best counsel he could give him was to go to his Parliament.

Finding this negotiation useless, the king marched his army still nearer to the enemy, and obliged them to retire from their position on an extensive heath, now called St. Winnow's Beacon. Here scarcely a day passed without some skirmishes taking place in which Essex was generally the sufferer, and many of his officers were either killed or taken prisoners. The principal officers of the king's army, still thinking that Essex might be gained over, obtained the consent of the

king to send him another letter. Accordingly on Friday August 9, Prince Maurice and the Earl of Forth sent him a letter, subscribed also by the chief officers, by a trumpeter proposing a treaty. The next morning, about 10 o'clock, the trumpeter returned with a letter in the following terms:

"My Lords,

"In the beginning of your letter you expres by what authority you send it. I, having no authority to treat without Parliament, who have entrusted me, cannot doe it without breach of trust.

"Your humble servant,

Essex.

"From Lostwithiel,

"*August* 10, 1644."

Sir Richard Granville, being expected from Truro, it had been deemed advisable for the king's army to await his coming, and therefore no decisive action had been taken during the two days that had elapsed since the Royalist army had occupied its position; but now that all hope of a treaty was at an end, the time for sterner measures was come. Sir Richard met the king on Sunday August the 11th, and was able to give him a good account of his proceedings, as in his march from Truro he had fallen upon a party of Lord Essex's horse and had killed many and taken many

others prisoners. He had also captured Lord Robartes's house, Lanhydrock, and had opened a communication by means of Respryn Bridge over the Fowey river, occupying it with two or three pieces of ordnance.

A characteristic instance of Sir Richard's high-handed proceedings must be mentioned here. A mysterious paragraph in "The True Informer," a Parliamentarian Diurnal of July 6–13, had notified that it was "advertised by letters out of the West that a great Person of note and an eminent officer under his Majesty was come in to his Excellencie the Earle of Essex." The allusion, put in connection with other circumstances which follow, was undoubtedly to Henry Bouchier Earl of Bath, of Tawstock Court near Barnstaple, who had been appointed by the king Chief Commissioner of Array in the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall at the commencement of the war. Sir Richard had written from Truro to him, complaining that the king's troops "were not encouraged by those of the better quality, which the distemper of the times required," and asking him to send some of the horses which he had heard he and other gentlemen had; but not receiving a favourable reply, and meanwhile the rumour having been set on foot that Lord Bath had sought protection from Lord Essex—on the mere suspicion of his insincerity—Sir Richard

issued a warrant to captain Edward Roscarrock, bearing date August 5, to the following effect :—

"Divers officers of His Majesty's Army have lost their horses by hard duty. The Earl of Bath has 40 or 50 horses and men ; and neither he nor any of them have appeared at the Posse, nor has he given any advice or encouragement by letter or otherwise. He (Sir Richard) is informed he has protection from the Earl of Essex. Search for and take six of his horses, whereof one grey especially, named 'York.'"

The morose Earl was no soldier, which may account for these shortcomings, if true; but he was not the one to submit tamely to this indignity. He therefore complained directly to the king. Sir Richard was called upon to explain, and he submitted whether, hearing Lord Bath had 50 horse and men well armed, and had sent a servant to the Earl of Essex for protection, he had not sufficient reason for acting as he had. Nothing could have been more graceful than the soothing letter which thereupon Lord Digby, on the part of the king, wrote to the incensed earl. It is dated "Buconock, August 16th," and states that "the King would be very sensible of any disrespect offered to a person of his quality," and asks him not to press the matter, and "not take too much to heart the roughness of a soldier." The sequel

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is not revealed, but it may probably be inferred that the much-coveted "York" was returned to his stables at Tawstock; but, apparently, the matter was not immediately settled, as on October 1, Sir Richard, writing from Buckland Monachorum to the Secretary of the Council of War (Sir Edward Walker), again mentions, among other things, Lord Bath's proceedings in asking a protection from Lord Essex; and the king himself wrote to Sir Richard, urging him "to search after and punish the detractors of the Earl of Bath, that he may take it well."

CHAPTER IV

1644–1645

Defeat of Lord Essex—Sir Richard takes Saltash—Plymouth summoned to surrender—Blockade again entrusted to Sir Richard—"The King's General in the West"—His rewards and plunderings—Attempts to bribe the garrison—His kinsman put to death—His retaliations, exorbitances, and acts of tyranny—A more vigorous but still unsuccessful blockade.

AT Lostwithiel the Earl of Essex's army was shut up "in a pound," as Fuller says, being "jammed against the sea," straitened in their quarters, and without the means of obtaining supplies, being hemmed in by the four Royalist armies, viz., the King's, Prince Maurice's, Sir Ralph Hopton's, and Sir Richard Granville's,—for each acted independently. Strategically the earl was altogether in a perilous position, and he realised it. He called lustily upon Parliament for provisions for his hungry soldiers and, above all, insisted that Sir William Waller should be dispatched to effect a diversion in his favour by

attacking the king's army in the rear.* "Braver men than are here," he writes, "I never knew, this army being environed by four armies, in great want of victuals." "If any forces had followed the king, as we expected when we came into these parts, by human reason this war would have had a quick end; but since we are left to the Providence of God, I cannot despair of His mercy, having found so much of it in our greatest straits." "I marched into these parts by the advice and at the desire of some in this army that are of this country and also of Plymouth, and for no ends of my own; and had there been forces awaiting on the king, I should not have doubted of giving a good account of the war, had they been but 4000 horse and dragoons."†

As Lord Clarendon quaintly puts it: "At Lostwithiel he had the good town of Fowey and the sea to friend, by which he might reasonably assure himself of a great store of provision, the Parliament's ships having all the jurisdiction

* "The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer," E4, 20; Essex to the Com. cf Bk., Aug. 4; Common Letter Book; Walker's "Historical Discourses," 51.

† It is only just to the Parliament to say that when Waller was unable to come to Lord Essex's relief through having been defeated at Cropedy in Northamptonshire, Lieutenant-General Middleton was detached with 3000 horse to pursue the king and relieve Essex; but this service he too was unable to perform, his troops being defeated in Somersetshire by Sir Francis Doddington.

there," and where, if he preserved his post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude that "Waller or some other force sent out from Parliament would be shortly upon the King's back as His Majesty was upon his."

Still buoyed up with this hope, he refused at first all overtures to treat, saying that he had no authority from the House to do so; and the remainder of the month of August was occupied for the most part with skirmishing. Despite its ruinous condition, Restormel Castle, near Lostwithiel, was occupied by the Parliamentarians. This was now stormed and taken by Sir Richard Granville on behalf of the King on August 21.

Having thus blocked up Essex on the land side, the Royalist commanders resolved to cut him off from the sea. Essex indeed had taken care to possess himself of Fowey on the western side of the entrance to the harbour, but he had neglected to secure any single point on the eastern shore, and on August 14, Sir Jacob Astley secured for the king the posts which the Parliamentary commander had supinely left without a guard. Hall, Lord Mohun's house on the top of the steep hill which rises on the eastern side of Bodinnock Ferry, was the first to be occupied, and from that point the Royalists were able to make themselves

masters of Portruan Fort, opposite Fowey, at the very mouth of the harbour, so as to make it difficult if not impossible, for vessels with supplies to enter.

Essex was therefore obliged to content himself with such provisions for his men as had been already landed, and to support his horses for a time on the scanty forage which was still to be found in the fields round the head of Tywardreath Bay, with the addition of a few boatloads of necessaries which might be landed on the open beach. On August 26 St. Blazey was occupied by Goring, and from henceforth Essex's horse would have to depend for their forage on a little patch of land three miles in width, which was already almost exhausted by the calls made upon it. The biscuit and cheese which had been tardily dispatched from London by sea had not yet arrived, and Essex, out-numbered and out-generalled, was in no condition to hold out long.

On the evening of the 30th two deserters brought Charles the news that the Parliamentary cavalry meant to break through on that night, whilst the infantry was to fall back on Fowey to await the arrival of the expected transports. Charles at once despatched orders to his troops to stand to arms during the night to prevent the cavalry from escaping; yet strangely enough he took no special precaution to guard in force the

road from Lostwithiel to Plymouth, by which an escape would be most easily effected, contenting himself with throwing 50 musketeers into a cottage by the roadside, and directing the Earl of Cleveland to watch the passage with the horse at his disposal. The king's army was not only scattered over a wide circuit, but the greater part of it was dispersed in search of provisions, which were by this time hard to be found. Cleveland could rally no more than 250 men to carry out the orders he had received. When, therefore, about three in the morning of the 31st the enemy's horse, about 2000 strong, broke out from Lostwithiel under the command of Sir William Balfour, no serious attempt was made to stop them. The men in the cottage did not fire a shot, and Cleveland with his handful of men did not venture to charge. Balfour rode through the Royalists' lines unmolested, and though Cleveland, whose numbers were later in the day augmented to 500, followed him closely and took some prisoners, the fugitives made their way without serious loss to Plymouth.

With the deserted foot soldiers it fared far otherwise. The next day was wet and stormy, and the army, on its retreat to Fowey, was forced to abandon four guns, which had hopelessly sunk in the deep mud. A smart engagement took place at Broadoak Down, near Boconnoc, in which

Essex was defeated. The following morning, being Sunday, September 1, he sent to the king desiring a parley, but he himself, Lord Robartes, "and such other officers as he had most kindness for" basely deserted their army, and, embarking at Fowey in a small vessel, contemptuously termed by the Cavaliers "a cock-boat," escaped to Plymouth. Death in the battlefield Essex was now as ever ready to face, but the gibes and taunts of Charles's courtiers were more than he could bear to think of. As he wrote to Stapleton, it was "a greater terror to me to be a slave to their contempt than a thousand deaths." Major-General Skippon was left to make the best conditions he could. A cessation of fighting was accordingly concluded and hostages were interchangeably delivered.

The terms offered the Parliamentarians were far better than any they had reason to expect. On the morning of the 2nd their infantry laid down its arms on the understanding that the men should not fight against the king till they had reached Southampton or Portsmouth. Charles, on his part, was to supply them with a guard to conduct them safely through the Western counties. It was not in his power to protect them at the outset of their march. The men and women of Lostwithiel, where many a grudge had been stored up against them during their occupation of the town,

seeing, or pretending to see, that some of the soldiers were carrying away their arms contrary to the agreement, fell upon them and subjected them to much contumely and ill-treatment. As soon, however, as the train was clear of the neighbourhood of Lostwithiel, all went well. The guard assigned to them protected them from all further harm, and did not leave them till they were safe under the care of Middleton's Horse, which had by this time advanced into Somerset.

That Charles did not insist upon the complete surrender of his enemies as prisoners of war has always been a matter of surprise. His explanation was that his own army could not have held out long, apparently in consequence of the scantiness of his stock of provisions. Yet it is hard to believe that he was so ill-supplied as to be unable to block up a dispirited force of less than half his own number for twenty-four hours, and it can scarcely be doubted that Skippon would have been compelled to surrender at discretion before twenty-four hours were over.

In London attempts were made to minimise the defeat and to dwell rather on the preservation of the soldiers than upon the loss of the munitions of war and the failure of the campaign. "By that miscarriage," wrote one of the newspapers more candid than most of its contemporaries, "we are brought a whole summer's travel back."

Sir Richard meanwhile had been sent with the Cornish horse and foot towards Plymouth in order to join in the pursuit of the horse which had escaped, and which, Lord Clarendon writes, "by passing over the bridge near Saltash they might easily have done, but Sir Richard slackened his march that he might possess Saltash, which the enemy had quitted and left them eleven pieces of cannon with some arms and ammunition, which, together with the town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay." This kept him from joining Lord Goring, who thereby, and for want of the foot, excused his not fighting the horse.

Every preparation was made at Plymouth to resist the coming attack of the Royalists flushed with victory. Fortunately a quantity of supplies had been received which were originally intended for Gloucester. But the breathing time was brief. Skippon had surrendered on September 1. By the 5th the king, with Prince Maurice and Granville, was at Tavistock. Frenzied appeals were forwarded to the Parliament for the necessary help. "If this town be lost all the West will be in danger," wrote Warwick; and Essex prayed his chiefs to be careful of Plymouth, "knowing it to be a place of the greatest concernment next to London."

In this statement Lord Essex and Lord Warwick were perfectly correct. Of all the events in

the West the successful defence of Plymouth was by far the most important, as has been confirmed of late years by no less an authority than Professor Gardiner, who states emphatically that the defence of Hull and Plymouth saved the Parliamentary cause (Gardiner's "Civil War," i. 229). A Royal army and large revenues were required to keep up the constant siege which went on, which, if used elsewhere, would have been of great service to the king.

From Tavistock a trumpeter was sent summoning the town to surrender, and offering a general pardon and freedom from a garrison, except in the fort and Island of St. Nicholas. The trumpeter, who, according to Symonds, "was abused and imprisoned," did not return until the next day, and then only with the message that the answer should be sent by one of the Roundhead Drummers. All we know of this answer is that it must have been in the negative. On Monday, the 9th, the Royal army marched to Roborough, where they encamped, and whence Sir John Campsfield, with the Queen's regiment of horse, was sent to demonstrate against the stubborn town, the only result, however, being that, when he returned, the rebels' horse followed him at a less respectful distance than was convenient!

The next day the siege commenced. The

Royal army marched upon Plymouth with drums beating and colours flying and making, no doubt, a very gallant show in the eyes of the expectant Roundheads as they poured down, 15,000 strong, over the slopes of Mannamead and Compton. And spirited enough was the cannonade, but its echoes aroused the wonted sturdiness of the population, and, so far from indicating any disposition to surrender, they playfully applied the epithet of "Vapouring Hill" to the eminence from which the Royal forces breathed forth smoke and fury every morning. And they answered back the cannonade with twenty-eight guns, which they brought and planted under the shelter of a hedge within half a cannon shot from the outworks.

Charles, growing impatient of the empty monotony of the attack, made another formal demand for the surrender of the town, and assured the people, on "my royal honour," that the past would be forgiven, and that they should enjoy their accustomed privileges. The answer came back that Plymouth would resist to the last gasp. Sir Richard Granville then issued a similar document, but, "being a fugitive, he received no answer." Lord Digby tried hard to detach Lord Robartes, who, by an order of the House of Commons of September 11, had been appointed Governor of Plymouth, from his loyalty to the town and Parliament, offering him preferment and honour

on the king's behalf if he would betray his trust; but without effect, and "the gallant spirits of Plymouth, to testifie their defiance to the besieging enemy, all of them presently shut up their shops in the Towne, and unanimously betook themselves to the workes, resolving to stand it out to the last; which the insulting Enemy perceiving, the same day with great fury endeavoured to storme the West-end of the Towne, but were bravely repulst with losse. In which action the sea-men that were in the Garison must not be forgotten, but deserve much praise for their forwardnesse to doe service, if the Enemy had come on all sides by land."

The result was in the nature of an anti-climax. After further exchange of great and small shot, the king abandoned all hope of securing the surrender of the town either by fighting or pleading, and he drew off the main body of his troops, to the profound relief of the besieged.

A blockade was now substituted, which was entrusted to Sir Richard Granville, who had only 300 foot and no horse, and the king gave him a commission to command all the forces of Devon and Cornwall, and to resist and suppress all rebellious persons within those counties. He thus became, as he was proud to call himself, "The King's General in the West," a title which was afterwards engraved on his tombstone at Ghent.

It was upon the terms of this Commission that the disputes afterwards arose which wrecked the king's cause in the West. Considering himself constituted by it Commander-in-Chief, he afterwards refused, when called upon to do so by the Prince's Council, to act in any subordinate position.

Lord Clarendon, with his wonted bitterness against Sir Richard, writes thus of his appointment (vol. ii. 965):

"The King, finding no good could be done with him (Lord Robartes), and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution and marched away, having committed the blocking up of Plymouth to Sir Richard Greenvil, a man who has been bred a soldier and of great expectation but of greater promises; having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas, if such conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; while he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town; beginning his war first upon his wife, who had been long in possession of her own fortune by virtue of a decree in Chancery many years before the Troubles, and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates who were in the service of the Parlia-

ment, without doing anything of importance upon the town."

The conditions to which Lord Clarendon refers was the allotment to him of half the Royalist contributions of Devon, which amounted to over £1100 weekly; the whole of those of Cornwall about another £700, and arrears of near £6000.

Personally, it is true, he was richly rewarded by the king for the skill and valour he had displayed in the recent short campaign. We may dismiss as incorrect Whitelock's assertion that he was created Baron Lostwithiel, but he was granted the sequestration, not only of Lord Robartes's estates in Cornwall, but also of all the Duke of Bedford's, and those of Sir Francis Drake at Werrington and Buckland Monachorum. It was at this latter place (which had been the property of his illustrious grandfather, the great Sir Richard Granville, of the *Revenge*, who sold it to the Drakes in 1580) that he chiefly resided, and thence conducted the siege of Plymouth.

The following curious reference to Sir Richard's temporary possession of the Drake property at Werrington is to be found in "A Diary or an Exact Journal" (No. 86, p. 8) under date of Tuesday, January 6, 1664–6:

"Sir Richard Greenvil is at the Lady Drake's house, near Launceston, raising all the forces he

BUCKLAND MONACHORUM (EAST VIEW)
(From an engraving by Buck)

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possibly can procure to come along with him; hee was to march with his army and traine from Launceston last Munday, and it is reported that he is to march on the north by Okehampton."

Ellen Lady Drake received from the Parliament a separate pension to that given to her husband in 1646, "because of the greate losses she had sustained by the king's army."

All these properties, in addition to his wife's, he enjoyed by the sequestration granted him by the king and "of which," writes Lord Clarendon with his usual spleen, "he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace, for that besides he suffered no part of these estates to pay contribution (whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents) he kept very much ground about the houses in his own hands, which he stocked with such cattle as he took from delinquents. For though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet he was in truth the greatest plunderer of this war, so that he had a greater stock of cattle of all sorts upon his grounds than any person in the West of England. Besides this, the ordering of delinquents' estates in those parts being before that time not so well looked into, by virtue of these sequestrations he seized upon all the stock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants

to pay him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. By these means he had not only a vast stock, but he received great sums of money, and had such great stores of good household stuff as would furnish well all those houses he looked upon as his own."

There is very little news of Plymouth or the West in the newspapers published during the three last months of 1644. The land blockade of the town dragged fitfully on, but it did not prevent the strengthening of the defences, and as the port was open supplies of all kinds were sent in by sea. Exchanges of prisoners were frequent. An attempt was made by the Parliamentarians to exchange Sir Alexander Denton for Sir John Northcote. Sir Alexander was sent to the king's quarters, but he had to return, "for that the king would not condiscend to exchange him for Sir John Northcote" ("Perfect Diurnall," Nov. 18 to 25).

Having failed to induce the town to capitulate by fair means, Sir Richard next attempted (according to Rushworth's "Collections," p. 713) to bribe Colonel Searle, the second in command of the garrison, to betray the town into his hands, sending for that purpose a near kinsman of his own name, about sixteen years of age, with the promise of £3000. But Searle revealed the plot, and the young messenger was seized and condemned to

death at a council of war. In vain Sir Richard claimed him as his kinsman and offered any terms by way of ransom or exchange. Lord Robartes, whom Lord Clarendon describes as of a sour, surly nature, ordered the poor lad to be hanged at the gate of the town, in sight of the messenger without any other reply. In the "Perfect Diurnall" for Sept 16, we read: "From Plymouth it was certifyed that one Greenvile (a kinsman of Sir Richard Greenvile) endeavoured to betray the towne for a large reward of money from the said Sir Richard, which had such opparation on his perfidious mind that, had not his Treachery bin timely discovered, in all probabilities the designe might have proved fatall to the place, but it pleased God to discover the Plot, and so the Instrument was condemned and executed."

Who this young Granville was is not known. He was probably a member of the Penheale branch, but the Parliamentary papers did not hesitate to term him "a whelp" or "the Spawn" of "Skellum Grenvil's."

Sir Richard gave vent to his wrath with the utmost return of vengeance on all who fell into his clutches. One of these instances has been related by Lord Clarendon. "One day he made a visit from his house (Fitzford) which he called his own, to the Colonel and dined with him, and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to

wait on him home, lest any of the garrison in their usual excursions might meet with him. On his return home he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour's wood with burthens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bade the troopers fetch these fellows to him and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest, which to save his life he was content to do. So strong his appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority."

And in "A Continuation of the True Narrative of the Most Observable Passages in and about Plymouth from January 23, 1643," we read "We have omitted one barbarous act of Sir Richard Greenvill (that Runagado), committed the week before, who, having taken two of our souldiers going out into the country, inforced one to hang the other presently at the next tree they came to, the cavaliers dispatching the survivor; Skellum Greenvile sitting on his horse beholding the spectacle."

But perhaps the worst instance of his vindictive character is that given by Lord Clarendon as follows:

"Shortly after Sir Richard had assumed the command of the blockade of Plymouth upon the wound of Lord Digby, one Braband, an attorney-

at-law, who had heretofore solicited the great suit against Sir Richard in the Star Chamber on the behalf of his wife and the Earl of Suffolk, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the king's estate and service, knowing, it seems, the nature of Sir Richard, resolved not to venture himself within the precincts where he commanded, and therefore intended to go to some more secure quarter, but was taken in his journey, having a mountero on his head. Sir Richard had laid wait to apprehend him. He likewise concealed his name, but being now brought before Sir Richard was immediately (by Sir Richard's own direction and without any council of war, because, he said, he was disguised) hanged as a spy; which seemed so strange and incredible that one of the council asked whether it was true, and he answered very unconcernedly 'Yes, he had hanged him, for he was a traitor and against the king; and he said he knew the country talked that he hanged him for revenge, because he had solicited a cause against him; but that was not the cause, though having played the knave with him, he said smiling, he was content to find a just occasion to punish him!'"

On October 4 a party from Plymouth took Saltash after a short encounter, and on the 5th, a boat party captured the fort at Insworth. This

roused Granville. He drove the Roundheads out of Millbrook, killing 40 and taking 33 prisoners (Rushworth, Pt. 3, vol. 2, p. 717).

Saltash cost more time and life. It had a garrison of 500. Of these 200 were killed in the assault; the other 300 refused quarter and were taken prisoners, and Granville wrote to the king, saying he intended to hang them all! Possibly he did, but there is no further record of their fate.

The Commissioners of Cornwall presented a very sharp complaint against Sir Richard in the name of the whole county, "for several exorbitances and strange acts of tyranny" exercised upon them at this time; "that he had committed very many honest substantial men and all the constables of the east part of the county to Lydford prison for no offence but to compel them to ransom themselves for money, and that his troops had committed such outrages in the county that they had been compelled in open sessions to declare against him, and to authorise the country, in case he should send his troops in such manner, to rise and beat them out."

This charge is, however, quite unusual; for, though a great plunderer himself, he was very strict in prohibiting his soldiers from following his example, so that even Lord Clarendon has a word of praise for him on this ground. He says he

exercised great discipline over them and kept them from committing any disorder or offering the least prejudice to any man, "which, considering the great assignment of money and the small number of men, was no great matter to do;" And this discipline raised him much credit among the country people who had lived long under the licence of Prince Maurice's army, and the fame of it extended his reputation to a great distance.

With the commencement of 1645 Sir Richard began the blockade of Plymouth more vigorously, and matters assumed a more warlike aspect. He was now Sheriff of Devon, a position which he utilised to the utmost not only to prosecute his exactions, but to raise the *Posse Comitatus;* by means of which he was enabled to increase the small army the king had left him of 300 foot and no horse to besiege Plymouth with, to about 5000 foot and 1000 horse.

The following letter to Mr. Ashley, tutor to young Richard Granville, was written at this time, when the boy had been sent out of danger's way, and alludes to an attack that almost succeeded :

"Sir,

"I have received yours of the 6th of this moneth and am very glad of your safe arrivall at St Mallowes (St. Malo). If you find Cane (Caen) better than Rohan (Rouen) for your residence and

my sonnes education I shall leave it to your choice; Cane being a most pleasant and healthy place and lesse inhabited by English, in which respect I conceive it fitter than Roan; yet I leave it to your choice and earnestly desire you that my sonne may converse with soe few Englishe as may be, nor presume to doe any thinge without your knowledge and leave. For his education I desire he may constantly and diligently be kept to the learning of the French tongue, reading, writinge, and arithmetick, also rydeinge, fenceinge, and daunceinge; this isall I shall expect of him; which if he follow accordinge to my desire for his own good, he shall not want any thinge. But if I understand that he neglects in any kind what I have herein commanded him to doe, truely I will neither allow him a penny to mayntaine him nor looke on him againe as my sonne. And that you may the more fully execute and performe the trust which I have imposed on you concerning his welfare, I have sent heerwith unto you a warrant of authority for the same.

"I have lately in the night attempted to force Plymouth workes, and tooke one of them nighe the Maudlin Worke, and had my seconds performed their parts Plymouth (by all probability) had now been certainly ours; but all proceeds with us successfully and hopefull. The Scots have certainly lost two great Battles, and by it

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many of their best Townes are now possest by the King's Mtye; whereupon Generall Leisley is gone out of England with most of his forces to releeve his Scottish friends.

"Just now credible newes is brought me that by fowle weather and a leake a great London Shipp come from the Straights was glad to save herselfe by thrustinge into Dartmouth, whither she is secured and is conceived to be worth above an hundred thousand pounds, besides forty thousand pounds in silver which she hath brought with her. You shall speedily receive from me a bill of exchange for twenty pounds, and I must desire you to be so provident as conveniently you may, because moneys with me is very hardly to be gotten; and soe God blese you all.

"Your affectionate Friend,

"RICHARD GRENVILE.

"*January* 17, 1645."

Whether it was Colonel Champernowne and his brother who were the seconds who failed to perform their parts in the night attack on Plymouth, referred to in the above letter, history doth not relate, but the "Perfect Diurnal" for January 28th has an ominous passage which would suggest that they may have been the guilty ones:

"From the West we had also the news that

Skellum Greenvile had upon a discontent pistolled Colonell Champernoone and his brother, both of his owne party."

It appears that he attacked the enemy at four different points, viz., the Lipson, Holiwell, Maudlin, and Penny-come-quick Works. For a time the fate of the town appeared to tremble in the balance. He is said to have taken three of these outworks and to have turned their guns against the town. Robartes, however, credits him with only capturing one, and indeed Sir Richard himself in the above letter only mentions one. Probably the solution of the contradiction is that he gained at first a footing all along the line, but not being supported as he ought to have been by his "seconds," was able to make it good at one point only, namely, the Maudlin Work. But even that modicum of success was evanescent. With the loss of 300 men slain, of whom 75 were left dead around the batteries, and many hundreds wounded, Granville was beaten off at every point save one.

The captured work was then stormed on all sides by the Plymouth men, who behaved with extraordinary gallantry, and speedily carried it, all who were within being either killed or taken prisoners; those who did not fall eventually surrendering upon quarter. The intelligence of this success was very welcome to the House of

Commons, and care was at once taken for the supply of the garrison. The city of London petitioned that due regard should be had to the necessities of the town.

After this bout, the town wall and outworks stood greatly in need of repairs, which were at once executed.

Granville's next movement was upon the other side of Cattewater. On the night of February 17 his troops cleverly effected a lodgment among the ruins of Mount Stamford, and raised a breast-work of faggots twelve feet thick, which they intended to complete the following night. The garrison had not expected this. But their measures were soon matured. The little force at Mount Batten was strengthened by a party of horse and foot, the latter partly seamen, under the command of Captain Swamley, who had relieved Plymouth, and landed a body of soldiers. A feint sally was made from Penny-come-quick, which kept the main body of the besiegers engaged. And then, under cover of the fire of sixty guns from the ships and forts, "which beat up the dust about the cavies ears," the new Fort Stamford was attacked and carried. The cavaliers were driven from the field and pursued two miles. Twelve officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, a major and 4 captains, and 92 soldiers were captured, and in the new work

were found three hundred arms and a good store of mattocks, shovels, and faggots. Only one of the attacking party was slain and that by accident. This victory was reckoned of so much importance that a Day of Thanksgiving was appointed on the occasion.

CHAPTER V

1645

Ordered to quit Plymouth and reduce Taunton—Quarrels with Lord Goring—Is severely wounded—The Prince of Wales and his Council—Animosities between the generals increase—Complaints of the Commissioners of Devon—The Council's vain attempts to rectify matters—The overlapping of commissions—Sir Richard is promised a fresh command.

ALTHOUGH there can be but little doubt that Sir Richard was unsuccessful in his blockade of Plymouth, he himself gives a very different account in his "*Narrative of the Proceedings of His Majestie's Affairs in the West of England since the defeat of the Earl of Essex at Lostwithiel in Cornwall a.d. 1645*," published amongst the Duke of Ormonde's Papers in Carte's Letters 196. He says he "did so necessitate the Plimouth forces by a strict blockeering that the Enemies Horse were almost all starved and lost, and their foot grown almost to desperation in such sort that if the said Army had then been suffered

to remain but two months longer before that town, very probably Plimouth had thereby been reduced into obedience to His Majesty."

But Sir Richard's hopes were evidently not shared by the other Cavalier Generals, and especially by Sir John Berkeley, at whose special request Sir Richard had been given at the first this command; and in February Sir Richard had information that they were doing their utmost to procure his removal from before Plymouth to some pretended greater employment elsewhere. Sir John Berkeley was in command of the Royalist troops at Exeter, and Philip Froude, the deputy-governor of Exeter, was, it is stated, sent by him from Exeter to Oxford to procure a mandatory letter from the king to compel Sir Richard to leave Plymouth and march into Somersetshire, where Colonel Blake was occupying Taunton, and to bring back a commission for Sir John Berkeley to be Colonel-General of Devon and Cornwall in his place. Sir William Waller was intending to march westward and relieve Plymouth. We read in the "Mercurius Britannicus," March 16th–17th: "Sir William Waller and Colonel Cromwell are sure joined e'er this unto Colonel Holborne (who had been sent to relieve Taunton) or not far off. These gallants united will command at least 10,000 horse and foot, which will stand us in pretty stead in the West, and I hope will in

time expel or bring up the Cornish ferret, Grenvill, with a halter about his neck."

Prince Maurice and Lord Goring had for some time been taking measures to reduce Taunton, but finding more troops were necessary, Berkeley was summarily called on by Goring to send him as many men as he could spare from Exeter, and Granville was ordered to come in person with the bulk of the forces with which he was besieging Plymouth, leaving only sufficient men before the town to block it up. These orders may have been good in themselves, but Goring had no commission empowering him to give them; and he had no idea of condescending to entreat a favour where he had no right to command. Berkeley, an honourable and loyal soldier, did as he was told, but Granville for a while hung back, and it was only at the express command of the king that he at last obeyed, leaving 2000 foot and 400 horse to continue the blockade of Plymouth.

The following letter from him to captain Symon Cottell, his Treasurer and Paymaster, the original of which is in the possession of the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe, was written from Cullompton as he was en route for Taunton:

"Sir,

"I am very sorry the King's positive commands have drawne me to so great a distance

from His more needful service against Plimouth, to the great distraction and prejudice to the country, and the hazard of the disbanding of the forces under my charge, if they fail of their pay by the disaffections of ye Comm^rs, whom I found, whiles I was before Plimouth to make all my posicions seem difficulties or impossibilitys, which were indeed noe other than were needful for their safetye and welfare, without by respects; and tho' then they alledged it an impossibility to rayse ffive hundred men upon my request, now I understand they can and will speedily rayse a thousand men for the Guard of Saltash and Millbrook; but they may order what they please, only the moneys assigned for ye mayntenance of your forces under my charge may not without my consent be converted to any other uses; the full whereof I shall expect, and not fail to collect from all who ought to pay it.

"Therefore I must both desire and require you not to pay any of the moneys that you have or shall collect by your commissions for the mayntenance of the Forces under my charge to any other person or uses than such as I have or shall appoint to receive itt for the mayntence of my forces; very well knowing that I left for the blocking of Plimouth sufficient of men, Armes and Municion, and strong workes. But it is impossible for me to fortifye some mens timorous

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disposicons or satisfye their doubts. I have written to Captain Porter to make restitution of the Cattle menconed in y^r L^re. The great multiplicity of Litteral Dispatches is daily more troublesome to me than fighting with an Enemy would have been, and the more for that my secretary is now sick at Exon. I pray, pay Captain Blight for his colt sent me. I have not time to say more, but that I am,

"Your affectionate friend,

"RICHARD GRENVILE.

"CULLOMPTON, *March* 30, 1645."

(*Enclosed*) "To my very loving friend
Capt. SYMON COTTELL, Treas^r
of Cornwall these."

Sir Richard arrived at Taunton on April 2. Lord Goring had been blockading the town for several months without success. Sir Richard boastfully announced his intention of taking it by approach within ten days. He ordered Goring to leave him his infantry, and to march with his horse into Wiltshire to harass Waller, and thus cover the siege operations against a possible advance of the enemy. This Goring refused to do and took himself off to Bath to recruit his health, there being, as he said, nothing else left for him to do. Granville's force, which consisted of 2200 foot and 800 horse, being

considered insufficient, he was ordered to follow Goring to Bath; but this he declined to do, in spite of positive commands to that effect from Prince Maurice, and sent his Highness word that "his men would not stir a foot, and that he had promised the Commissioners of Devon and Cornwall that he would not advance beyond Taunton till Taunton was reduced, but that he made no question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good account of that place."

For a time Granville kept off at a fair distance, not attempting a close siege but applying himself to sweeping the district of all provisions. But on April 10, the besiegers began with great labour and diligence to entrench themselves within musket shot of the defensive works; and after continued exertion, working night and day, they closely begirt the town with about twelve fortified guards, to which approaches were afterwards added. Cannon and musketry began to play upon it, volley growing upon volley, both by day and night, until it sometimes appeared "as if besieged by a wall of fire," and as if escape would be impossible, except by "a miracle of Providence." According to the "Perfect Diurnal" for April 7–14, after several unsuccessful attempts, Granville's troops were driven back with great loss; but Sir Richard himself was not there to command them, for the very day that he arrived

before Taunton, in attempting to take Wellington House, he received a wound in the thigh, of so serious a nature that at the time it was considered likely to prove mortal. The king, on hearing of his wound, wrote at once to express his concern, as did also Lord Digby. He was placed in a litter and carefully carried to Exeter, and on April 23 he wrote from there to Lord Digby as follows:

"I received yours with one from His Majesty of the 15th, when I was in extreme pain and weakness; but now I have good hopes of a speedy recovery from the wound, which was very dangerous. I only desire my recovery and life that I may employ it in His Majesty's service. I heartily wish that all other men's intentions were as clearly without their own private ends. I shall not fail in punctually performing my duty."

At this time the Prince of Wales, a lad not yet fifteen years of age, had been sent into the West as being of greater security than Oxford, and with him came a Council composed of some of the king's most trusted personal advisers, namely, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, Lords Capel, Hopton, and Colepeper, Sir Edward Hyde (Chancellor of the Exchequer), and the Earl of Berkshire, who was the Prince's Governor. The appointment of the Council, composed

of swordsmen and gownsmen, to inspect and regulate the conduct of the generals, and control the military operations in the West, was a most ill-advised step on the part of the king, and the cause of much of the dissensions and quarrels which ensued. Generals of experience, like Goring and Granville, thought very reasonably that they were not to be told their trade by persons who knew nothing of it, and an implacable animosity naturally arose in the whole army against the Council. Hyde in particular, whose rapid promotion from a country lawyer had aroused general jealousy, and who was regarded by courtiers and soldiers alike as an upstart and an interloper, was looked upon with special aversion; and by no one more than by Sir Richard; and Hyde on his part never lost an opportunity of showing that the feeling was mutual.

It was hoped that the prince's presence would have composed the factions and animosities which were already beginning to infest the king's service in the West, and of which we have a hint given us in the last paragraph of Sir Richard's letter above to Lord Digby; but on the contrary, they increased and multiplied.

In order that the prince might have the requisite authority for the arrangement of these differences and the restoration of order, he had received from the king a commission constituting him

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generalissimo of the whole of the Royalist armies. Remembering his age, this position is somewhat startling, but it was of course only nominal. The same remark applies to the young prince's ostensible political precocity, but Hyde (or Lord Clarendon, as he afterwards became), in his history of the rebellion, never allows us to forget that the real oracle was the Prince's Council, even though he invariably attributes its resolutions, with courtly obsequiousness, to the inspiration and sagacity of the prince.

Lord Capel and Lord Colepeper visited Sir Richard as soon as he was placed in the litter, and informed him officially that they had selected Sir John Berkeley to take over his command; and, on his seeming to approve this, they desired him to call his officers—most of the principal ones being there on the spot—and to command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully under Berkeley's command. This he promised to do, and immediately said something to his officers at the side of his litter, which the lords conceived to be what he had promised; but it appeared afterwards that it was not so, but very probably was just the contrary, inasmuch as neither officer nor soldier did his duty, after Sir Richard was gone, during the time that Sir John Berkeley commanded in that action.

While Sir Richard lay at Exeter recovering

from his wound, the Commissioners of Devon, as those of Cornwall had already done, presented a series of complaints against him to Prince Maurice; namely, that at his first entering upon the siege of Plymouth, upon his assurance that he would take the town before Christmas Day, and that he would forthwith raise, arm, and pay 1200 horse and 6000 foot, they had assigned him one-half of their whole contribution, amounting to over £1100 a week; and, moreover, for providing arms and ammunition, had assigned him the arrears of the contributions due from those hundreds allotted to him, which amounted to nearly £6000. All this was in addition to the whole contribution of Cornwall, which was above £600 weekly, and the greater part of the letter and subscription money of that county towards the same service. Notwithstanding all this, he had never bought above twenty barrels of powder or any arms, but had received both the one and the other from them out of their magazines, and had never maintained or raised even half the number of men agreed upon, till the week before he was required to march to Taunton, when he had raised the *Posse Comitatus*, and out of them had forced almost the whole number of foot which marched with him thither, bringing them with him as far as Exeter unarmed, where he compelled the Commissioners to supply them with arms and ammunition.

They complained, moreover, that having left scarce 2000 foot and 400 horse before Plymouth, he still continued to receive the whole contribution formerly assigned to him, when he was to have 1200 horse, and 6000 foot, and would not part with any of it; so that he received more out of Devonshire for the blockade of Plymouth (besides having all the Cornish contributions) than was provided for the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstaple, and Tiverton, and for the completion of those fortifications, victualling of the garrisons, and providing arms and ammunition. Besides this they had sent great quantities of arms and ammunition to the king's army, to Lord Goring, and for the siege of Taunton.

They likewise complained that Sir Richard would not suffer them to send any warrants to collect the letter and subscription money, to settle the excise, or to meddle with delinquents' estates in hundreds assigned to him for contribution, and that he had continual contests with Sir John Berkeley, the colonel-general of the county, and the other governors of garrisons, pretending that he had power to command them; and that there was such an animosity grown between them that they very much apprehended the danger of these divisions, there having been some bloodshed and men killed upon these private contests. They therefore besought His Highness by his authority "to settle

the limits of the several jurisdictions in martial affairs, and likewise to order Sir Richard Greenvil to receive no more contributions than would suffice for the maintenance of those men who continued before Plymouth, whereby they would only be enabled to perform their parts of the Association."

All this was pressed with so much earnestness and reason that it was thought very advisable for the Prince of Wales himself to go to Exeter, where both the Commissioners and Sir Richard Granville were, and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the dispute. The king, however, expressly inhibited the prince's going any further westward, and Lord Capel, Lord Colepeper, and Hyde accordingly went by themselves, with instructions to examine into all the complaints and allegations of the Commissioners and to settle the business of the contribution, and "upon view of the several commissions of Sir John Berkeley and Sir Richard Grenvile" so to settle the matter of jurisdiction that the prince's service might not be obstructed.

The date of this visit is marked by the following minute in the Exeter Municipal Records:

"20 May 1645. Whereas Mr. Maior for the honor of this Cittie and att the mocon of divers of the Citizens did invite and interteyne the Lord

Caple, the Lord Culpeper, Mr. of the Rolles, Sr. Edward Hyde Chancellor of the Exchequer and divers other p'sons of hon^r^ then in this Cittie, it is this day agreede that he shall have tenn pounds allowed and paid towards the charge of the dinner."

As soon as the members of the Council reached Exeter they went to visit Sir Richard, who was still "bed-rid of his hurt." They intended this only as a complimentary visit, and so would not reply at that time to the many very sharp *and* bitter complaints made against Sir John Berkeley, whose intrigues, he believed, had led to his recall from the siege of Plymouth, but told him that they would come again the next day and consider "all business." Accordingly they came the following day, when with very great bitterness he again repeated his complaints against Berkeley and Goring; but when he was pressed to particulars he mentioned especially some high and disdainful speeches, the most of which were denied by the others, and also the withholding some prisoners from him which he had sent his Marshal for near Taunton, and two were specially named—viz., Dr. Blake, brother to the governor of Taunton, who afterwards proved "a most pernicious instrument in the delivering up of Bridgwater," and a Mr. Syms.

As regards the latter the truth was this. Whilst Sir Richard was before Taunton he had sent for Mr. Syms, a justice of the peace for the county, a rich and decrepit man, who lived within three miles of that town, and charged him with some inclinations to the rebels, and with favouring their proceedings. Syms stood upon his justification and innocency, and desired to be put upon any trial. However, Sir Richard told him "he was a Traytor, and should redeem himself at a thousand pounds, or else he would proceed in another way," and gave him three days to provide the money. Before the time expired Sir Richard was wounded and carried to Exeter, whither he was no sooner come than he despatched his marshal to fetch Mr. Syms, who applied to Sir John Berkeley, then in command, and desired to be put upon any trial; and besides, being very infirm of body and unfit for travelling, many gentlemen of the very best quality gave him a very good testimony, and undertook for his appearance whenever he should be called upon. Upon this Sir John Berkeley dismissed the marshal, and wrote a very civil letter to Sir Richard, explaining the whole matter, and saying that "he would see the gentleman forthcoming upon least warning, but that it would be an act of great cruelty to carry him a prisoner in that disposition of health from his own house." Sir

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Richard looked upon this as robbing him of a thousand pounds, and wrote such a letter to Sir John Berkeley, "so full of ill language and reproach as I have never seen the like form, and to a gentleman; and complained to us the Council of the injury."

The Council told him that neither he nor Sir John Berkeley had any authority to meddle with Mr. Syms or any person of that quality, who could not be looked upon as prisoners-of-war. But if in truth he should prove to be a delinquent and guilty of the crimes objected against him, his fine and composition were due to the king, who had assigned all such to the prince for the public service; and that there were Commissioners before whom he was to he regularly tried, and with whom only he might compound.

Sir Richard would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon Sir John Berkeley's protecting Syms as a great indignity to himself.

On the other hand, Sir John Berkeley complained by his letters that the soldiers who had been brought to Taunton by Granville "mouldered away" every day, and that he had reason to believe that it was by his direction; whilst those who stayed, and the officers, were very backward in performing their duties, and that they had burnt Wellington House contrary to his commands."

Sir Richard denied that he had used his in-

fluence in the ways suggested, though it appeared that all such soldiers as left their colours came to him, and were kindly used and had money given to them, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Robinson, after he had received an order from Sir John Berkeley not to burn Wellington House, rode to Exeter to Sir Richard, and immediately upon his return caused it to be burnt. Sir Richard also maintained that he had levied no moneys nor issued any warrants but such as he had authority to in virtue of his commission. In the end the Lords of the Council showed him their instructions from the prince to thoroughly examine all differences between him and Berkeley, and to fix the limits of their respective commissions. Thereupon Sir Richard produced his commission under his Majesty's sign-manual, by which he was authorised to command the forces before Plymouth, "and in order thereunto with such clauses of latitude and power as he might both raise the Posse, and command the trained bands, and, indeed, the whole forces of both counties. He was to receive orders only from his Majesty and his Lieutenant-General," and, moreover, he stated that he was at the time High Sheriff of Devon.

Sir John Berkeley's commission was precedent and more formal, being under the great Seal of England; by it he was constituted Colonel-General of the counties of Devon and Cornwall

in command of the whole forces of both counties, as well-trained bands as others. It is clear that these two commissions overlapped one another, and it was little wonder that a plentiful crop of discussions and jealousies had sprung up between the two commanders who were each pushing their own schemes.

After the perusal of the commissions the Lords of the Council inquired "what forces were necessary in the opinion of Sir Richard for the blockade of Plymouth?" and he informed them that the forces there then were sufficient, and proposed an allowance little enough for the service; but he added that "it troubled him to be confined to such an employment as the blocking up of a place, whilst there was likely to be so much action in the field, and he therefore hoped his Highness would give him leave to wait on him in the army, where he thought he might do him much better service." They then informed him that they had authority from the prince, if they found his health able to bear it, to let him know that his Highness would be glad of his service in moulding that field army which he was then raising, and in which he had designed him the second place of command.

Sir Richard cheerfully received the proposition and "as for Plymouth," he said, "no one was fit to undertake the work there but Sir John Berkeley, who had the command of both counties."

All things being thus apparently satisfactorily agreed upon, Lord Capel and Lord Colepeper returned to the prince to obtain his sanction, whilst Hyde was left behind at Exeter to agree with the Commissioners upon the settlement of the contribution, and to arrange some other particulars which they had resolved upon. The Council, having promised to send him his new commission in the field army within a few days, Sir Richard agreed to resign his commission as general in charge of the blockade of Plymouth to Sir John Berkeley, which accordingly he did—but his new commission was never sent him, "which" (adds Sir Richard in his narrative) "was none of the weakest reasons why that associated army was not raised."

CHAPTER VI

1645 (*continued*)

Returns his commission of Field-Marshal and acts independently—Reprimanded by the Prince—Goring and Granville undertake to oppose Fairfax's advance into the West—They quarrel and part—Granville acts independently in Cornwall—His exactions and severe measures—Is given the command of the trained bands—Further discussions between the Generals — Goring leaves England — Granville's Letter of Advice for the preservation of the Prince and defence of the West.

SIR RICHARD, as soon as he had recovered from his wound, sent forth his orders into Devon and Cornwall to rally together those soldiers who had deserted his troops at Taunton, and also proceeded as High Sheriff to raise others by means of the *Posse Comitatus*.

This, however, displeased Sir John Berkeley, who at once forbade the Commissioners to obey any of Sir Richard's orders, and thus the dispute between the two rival generals, which had been patched up by the Prince's Council, broke out again. Sir Richard waited on the prince at

Barnstaple, whither he had retired to escape the plague which was then raging at Bristol, and begged that he might be reinstated in the command of those men whom he had formerly levied.

But the Council decided that it would be best to give him an entirely separate command, and entrusted him with the blockade of Lyme. For this purpose men were to be drawn from the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, and Barnstaple, with the addition of certain troops that were to be given him from Lord Goring's force. The rendezvous was to be Tiverton. Those from Exeter, according to orders, appeared at the time appointed, but those from Barnstaple and Dartmouth, after marching a day's journey or more towards Tiverton, were recalled by the prince to Barnstaple to defend that town, as rumours of an advance of the enemy under Fairfax were bruited abroad. Sir Richard was naturally greatly incensed at this treatment and returned the commission of field-marshal, which the prince had given him, in an empty envelope addressed to the prince's secretary-at-war; and two or three days afterwards sent a very angry letter to the Lords of the Council, bitterly complaining of the many undeserved abuses offered to him, and expressing his intention of serving in future as a volunteer "until such times as he

might have an opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with his sufferings."

Accordingly he established himself at Ottery St. Mary with his own horse and foot, and, without any commission, indulged in the most arbitrary excesses, raising what money he would and imprisoning what persons he pleased. The tradition which is said to exist that children were hushed by their mothers with the threat of "Grenville is coming!" is probably fabulous, but it is one of the accretions which show how real was the widespread terror in common life, for which the excesses and cruelties of this unprincipled cavalier were responsible.

In order to show his hatred of Sir John Berkeley he adopted a highly original method of offence, by ordering a warrant to be read in all the churches of the district over which he had assumed control, "that all persons should bring him an account of what moneys or goods had been plundered from them by Sir John Berkeley or any under him." Such conflict of authority was already breaking up the strength of the king's party. This was realised by the Commissioners of Devon, who sent an express to the prince, who was then in Cornwall, beseeching him "to call Sir Richard from thence, and to take some order for the suppressing of the furious inclinations of both sides, or else they apprehended the enemy would

quickly take an advantage of those dissensions and invade the county before they otherwise intended."

The prince, therefore, sent for Sir Richard to Liskeard and told him plainly "the sense he had of his disrespect he had towards him in sending back his commission in that manner, and of his carriage after, and asked him what authority he now had either to command men or to publish such warrants?" Sir Richard answered that he was High Sheriff of Devon, and by virtue of that office he might suppress any force, or inquire into any grievance his county suffered, and, as far as in him lay, give them remedy. He was told that as sheriff he had no power to raise or head men otherwise than by the *Posse Comitatus*, and even *that* he could not raise *motu proprio*, but only by a warrant from the Justices of the Peace; that in times of war he was to receive orders upon occasions from the commander-in-chief of the king's forces, who had authority to command him by his commission. He was asked what he himself would have done if, when he had commanded before Plymouth, the High Sheriff of Cornwall should have caused such a warrant concerning him to be read in churches?

Granville answered little to these questions, but sullenly extolled his services and enlarged upon his sufferings. Afterwards he was reprehended

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with more sharpness than ever before, and was told that "whatever discourses he made of spending his estate, it was well understood that he had no estate by any other title than by the mere bounty of the King; that he had been courted by the Prince more than he had reason to expect, and that he had not made those returns on his part which became him. In short, if he had inclination to serve his Highness he should do it in the manner he should be directed; if not, he should not, under the title of being Sheriff, satisfy his own pride and passion."

Sir Richard "becoming much gentler," Lord Clarendon adds, "upon this reprehension than upon all the gracious addresses that had been made to him," answered that he would serve the prince in such manner, and was accordingly discharged; and he returned to his house at Werrington, where he lived privately for the space of a fortnight or thereabouts, without interposing in the public business.

After the battle of Naseby (July 14), Fairfax had commenced his march westward with his victorious army. Bridgwater was taken by storm, Taunton relieved, and Sherborne Castle captured. He now decided to lay siege to Bristol, where Prince Rupert was then in command. Thereupon Lord Goring and Granville privately entered into a correspondence, and a letter, dated August 1,

was written to Hyde by Goring, in which he said several propositions had been framed in conference with Sir Richard with a view to intercepting if possible the operations of the Parliament army, which they desired might be presented to the Prince of Wales, and, if consented to, confirmed by him. He said they would engage to have in a short time an army of 10,000 or 12,000 men that should march wherever commanded, and concluded with these words: "I see some light now of having a brave army very speedily on foot, and I will be content to lose my life and honours if we do not perform our parts, if these demands be granted."

The letter was graciously received by the prince, and the propositions were signed by him, he expressing a further resolution to "add whatever should be proposed to him within his power to grant, so that there was once more a hope of looking the enemy in the face and having a fair day for the West."

The next day Sir Richard himself waited upon the prince at Launceston, and it was decided that he should receive a certain portion of the contributions of Cornwall and £5000 of the arrears. Sir Richard promised to gather together all stragglers, who, he said, would amount to 3000 foot and to raise 300 more in Devonshire; and he at once sent out his warrants levying men and money.

Lord Goring, like Granville, had changed sides. At the beginning of the war he too had held a commission under the Parliament and was placed in a position of trust which he betrayed and joined the Royalists. He had at Marston Moor shown that he could be brave, and his style and manner were such as rendered it an easy matter to ingratiate himself in the favour of the king, who possessed to a large extent the Stuart failing of confiding in worthless counsellors. Goring was a drunkard and a debauchee, utterly unscrupulous in all his actions, looking only to his own pleasure and interest, and one who helped more to ruin the cause he proposed to serve than any other man during the whole history of the war.

About this time the popular feeling with regard to Goring and Granville found vent in a curious tract, of which the following is the title: "A true and strange Relation of a Boy who was entertained by the Devill to be servant to Him with the consent of his Father about Crediton in the West; and how the Devill carried him up in the aire and showed him the Torments of Hell and some of the Cavaliers there, and what preparation there was made against Goring and Greenville against they come: Also how the Cavaliers went to robbe a carrier and his Horses and turned themselves into Flames of Fire, Etc.—London, printed by G. H. 1645."

Goring's dissolute troopers were the subject of daily complaints by their insolence and extortion; they helped themselves to the produce that was being conveyed to the markets by the country people, and robbed them of what money they had received on their return, "wasting as much provision in a day as was brought into Exeter in a fortnight." Their language was such that the learned Fuller lifted up his eyes in pious horror, and prayed that his ears might never again be so profaned.

But before the end of August the friendship between Goring and Granville grew colder, Sir Richard observing, it is said, a better agreement between Goring and Berkeley than he hoped there would have been; and hearing that Goring used to speak slightingly of him (which, Lord Clarendon says, was true), he wrote a very sharp letter to him, in which he said he would have no more to do with him. Goring in consequence retired upon Exeter, writing a letter to the Prince, which was intercepted by the enemy, to this effect —that in three weeks he would be ready to intercept Fairfax. But it was then too late. Before the time had expired Bristol had changed hands!

Granville continued, meanwhile, to be as active as before, being now in Devon and now at Land's End, and commanding absolutely without any

commission, The men of St. Ives, Towednak, and Zennor having rebelled, Sir Richard marched with 600 horse and foot in order to check their proceedings. He discovered the rebels encamped on Longstone Downs about a mile and a half from St. Ives. They consisted of about 200 men armed with muskets, swords, &c., but on seeing the superior force marching against them they fled in different directions and in such by-ways that no horse could pursue them, and only three or four men of both parties were killed. The Cavaliers, then entered the town, and Sir Richard lodged at the Mayor's house, one Hammond, who had the reputation there of an honest man, and was certified to be such by Colonel Robinson and other neighbouring gentlemen. Sir Richard blamed him for not having quelled the rebellious spirit of the people, who, however, mostly lived without the borough, and over whom therefore he had little or no control as magistrate, and threatened him with pains and penalties unless he produced the ringleader of the mutiny. Thereupon Hammond gave his bond to Sir Richard in £500 to produce him within three days. The time expired before he could be found, but within three days after the expiration of the time the Mayor sent the fellow to Sir Richard. That, however, would not satisfy him, and he sent his marshal and claimed £50 of him for having for-

feited his bond and, upon his refusal to pay it, forthwith committed him to gaol at Launceston.

Before leaving St. Ives he also ordered one Phillips, a constable of Zennor, to be hanged, and the day after his departure he ordered a St. Ives man to be hanged at Helston, and another suffered death at Truro. Captain Arundel, who had headed the St. Ives rebels, was proclaimed a traitor and ordered to be hanged whenever taken, but he escaped to Bridgwater, where he joined the Parliament Army under Fairfax.

The king, when Fairfax's army was victoriously marching into the West, ordered the Prince of Wales to proceed to France, there to be under the care of his mother, "who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things except religion." The prince was forbidden, in carrying out this order, to require the assistance of his Council. But both inside and outside of it the feeling was strong against his departure for France, and the Council determined once more to employ Sir Richard Granville's services. His experience and activity were thought most necessary at this crisis, and it was deemed expedient to draw all the trained bands of Cornwall to Launceston and place them under his command; and to these were added his own three regiments of old soldiers which he had formerly carried to Taunton, but which had refused to serve under any other

general, and had therefore been disbanded. Even now these were only got together again upon the assurance that they should be commanded by Sir Richard alone. Accordingly the trained bands met and marched from Launceston to Okehampton (this pass being of great importance to hinder the enemy's communications with Plymouth), which he barricaded.

But the dissensions between the generals still continued. On October 4, Lord Goring wrote to Lord Colepeper: "Sir Richard Greenville distracts us extreamely, but, when the Prince will be pleased to enable me, I hope eyther to bring him into better order or to keepe him doeing any hurt." And a few days after, the prince in writing to Lord Goring, mentions, with reference to the usual dispute about precedence, that "he has sent directions to Sir Richard Grenville to receive orders from his Lordship, and desires that there be good intelligence and correspondence preserved between them."

Thus far no attempt had been made to intercept the progress of Fairfax, and on October 14, while Fairfax's army was advancing from Honiton to Cullompton, Lord Goring retired from Exeter to Chudleigh with all the horse, quartering it upon the country round about. As a matter of fact it was now very generally realised by the Royalists that they were playing a losing game, and a desire

arose that the prince should interpose with the Parliament with a view to peace. To quiet the popular agitation the prince visited Exeter and discussed the subject. He wrote to Fairfax for a pass for two of his Council, Hopton and Colepeper, to visit the king and consult. Fairfax declined the pass, but promised to send a letter to Westminster. Next came an attempt from Goring to obtain a personal interview with Fairfax, his project being to unite both armies and compel both king and Parliament to come to terms. This too was declined, the reason assigned being that no instructions had been given him to treat of peace.

Very shortly after this Goring suddenly, on the pretence that both armies were going into winter quarters and that his health required attention, abandoned his command, having first filled his pockets with all the public money he could lay his hands upon, and embarked at Dartmouth for France. Jealous of his rivals, intolerant of the authority of the prince's Council, and disappointed in his ambition, if that indeed was not open to suspicions—it may be too, as has been suggested, that he hoped for a high command in the army of foreigners which the queen was expecting to muster in the spring—he left the county amid the execrations of those whom he had harassed and pillaged.

His defection was undoubtedly a relief to the prince's Council, though unfortunately, as the result proved, it did not rectify matters. They had still to reckon with Sir Richard Granville. According to Sir Richard's "Narrative," the prince's Council, who were then at Truro, importuned him on November 26 to propound to them "some speedy course for the preservation of the Prince's person and so much of the country as was then in his possession." This he did on the following day, directing it by way of letter to Mr. Fanshawe, the prince's Secretary-at-War. In it he expresses his belief that part of the West could yet be held for the king, provided the Prince of Wales remained and was not sent across to France. The letter, so Sir Richard said, "occasioned a strange rumour in the world as if he went about to sett up the Prince against the King." He therefore inserted it verbatim in his "Narrative" as follows:

"Sir,

"Upon Conference with the Lords of His Highness's Council last night, their Lordships were pleased to lay their command upon me that, in this time of extremity, I should propose what course I conceived might be best taken for the advancement of His Majesty's service, the safety of His Highness's person, the preservation of

this county, and the maintenance and augmentation of the Western forces.

"Sir, the thought of this hath much perplexed me; many things have offered themselves to my imagination which further consideration rejected. It is to be considered that the enemy is in all parts of the Kingdom very prevalent and His Majesty's forces as much lessened and disheartened; our late losses have brought us nigh despair, and we may too truly say His Majesty hath no entire county in obedience but poor little Cornwall, and that too in a sad condition by the miserable accidents of war under which it hath long groaned. The country is impoverished by the obstruction of all trade, and in my opinion it is not to be hoped that Cornwall, with our ruined county of Devon, can long time subsist and maintain the vast number of men that are requisite to oppose the enemies' army in case they advance upon us.

"Sir, what we wish is not in our own power to act. It rests then that we lay hold on the occasions that offer the fairest face. And who knows but some overture well managed may, by God's blessing, in a short time produce a longed-for peace to this languishing Kingdom. To effect which I shall make it the offer of my sense that His Highness, by the advice of the Lords in Council, may send propositions to the two Houses

of Parliament in London to have a treaty, wherein articles, proposed by their Lordships tending to some such effect as these following, may be discussed; viz.,

"(1) That His Highness has not at all been reflected on in the proceedings of Parliament, nor even had a hand in the bloodshed of this war.

"(2) That a great part of His Highness's maintenance is in his Dutchy of Cornwall, where he now remains.

"(3) That His Highness may assure the Parliament not to advance with an army further Eastward than the towns and places of Devon now within his power.

"(4) That the Parliament give the like assurance not to molest or disturb the country now within His Highness's power with incursions of armies or otherwise.

"(5) That the parts and places now within His Highness's power be permitted to enjoy free trade unto and from the parts beyond the seas without disturbance at sea with any shipping with the power of Parliament.

"(6) That the shipping under His Highness's power do permit the parts and places now in the power of the Parliament to enjoy a like free-trade and traffic without their molestation at sea.

"(7) That such parts of the profits of His Highness's estate as lie in Wales or elsewhere be

paid unto him as the same shall from time to time become due.

"(8) That upon breach of any article made by any particular person, that party injured is to appeal for relief which either party are to give without any molestation of the articles.

"Sir, these particulars are such as the shortness of my time hath given me leave to think on, and I shall desire you they may be presented to the Lords of His Highness's Council to be suppressed or altered as their Lordships shall seem fit and most likely to conduce to the honour of His Majesty, the safety of His Highness's person, and the preservation of the country from absolute destruction. And I must advertise you, Sir, and desire you to inform their Lordships that in my opinion such a treaty will much tend to the speedy putting of an end to the wasting divisions of this Kingdom. And for the present, if these or the like articles be agreed upon, His Highness's person will be sacred, his revenues twice trebled, trade revived, and the country enriched. Besides, in such a vacancy of troubles here it may please God to open a way for restoring His Majesty to His right and we shall be enabled to fortify our frontiers, ports, and towns, and to provide necessaries to defend ourselves against the worst of fortune.

"And if His Highness will be pleased to commit

the managing of his forces, and all things thereunto appertaining, unto the care of some fitting man with a competent power, His Army of Foot may within a short time, well be raised to the number of 10,000 and maintained without the country's ruin, and both them and the horse brought into due obedience, which want of government hath made them almost unserviceable; and in case this proposed way of treating produce not its desired success, yet the whole country seeing His Highness's sincere endeavours and desires for peace, and that His Highness's labour tends only to the preservation of these parts from utter ruin and destruction, I am most confident that after a General Meeting of the chief Gentry of this County (which I desire you to beseech His Highness may be speedily appointed) the whole body of this Country then finding how far the preservation of their persons and estates are concerned, will unanimously join in the defence thereof, and (with God's blessing on our endeavours therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to defend this county against the greatest force our enemies can pour against us.

"To conclude. I will make it my suit unto you that you will become my advocate humbly to intreat His Highness and the Lords that what I have written may receive no misconstruction, and that my meaning, which is to advance the honour

and service of His Majesty and His Highness and the preservation of the country, may not be perverted, but be plainly interpreted as it is honestly intended by

"Sir,

"Your affectionate Servant,

"RICHARD GRENVILE.

"TRURO, *November* 29, 1645."

The letter, as Sir Richard feared might be the case, was misconstrued, and the advice was not acted upon.

This was not the first time that the idea had been suggested, that the only way to secure peace was to depose Charles and set up in his stead the Prince of Wales, as having had no share in the dissensions of his country. Lord Wilmot, in the summer of 1644, had already made the sugges tion, in consequence of which the king had arrested him and sent him a prisoner to Exeter, appointing Lord Goring in his place as Lieutenant-General of the Horse. But there was now a growing feeling amongst men of varying views that Charles's personality was the main obstacle of peace.

Not long after this, the enemy, being possessed of the greatest part of Devonshire, and likely to advance westward to Exeter, Sir Richard further proposed and desired that the Lords would "be

pleased to have the affairs so ordered for the apparent security of so much of the Western parts as there remained in the possession of the Royalists." He urged that Newton Bushell, Okehampton, and Chumleigh should be at once occupied with troops and fortified, and a line of communication made, extending from the one place to the other; and it was probably, also, at this time that he proposed the notable scheme of cutting a trench from Barnstaple to the South Coast, a distance of nearly forty miles, and filling it with sea-water, by which he said he would defend all Cornwall and so much of Devon against the world! Lord Clarendon ridicules the scheme; but Lord Lansdown, in his "Vindication of Sir Richard," writes: "Is there anything new or strange in defending a country by entrenchments? Is not the practice as old as Julius Cæsar, and mentioned by himself in his Commentaries of the war with the ancient Gauls? Was it not thus that the modern Gauls in our own time defended the French Flanders? The forcing of those lines will stand for ever upon record among the first of the late Duke of Marlborough's glories. What was there, then, so ridiculous, so mad, or so extravagant in this proposal as to be thus singly prick'd out to be quoted as a proof of the man's being out of his wits? It were to be wished we had been told the rest of this General's schemes;

perhaps among military judges they would not have been thought so wild and impracticable as they might appear to persons of another calling, tho' never so able and learned in their respective professions."

The design, needless to say, was rejected and nothing done.

At the very end of December a story was circulated by the Royalist party at Oxford, on the reported authority of two men supposed to have come from Dunster, that the castle there, which remained the only place for the king in Somerset, was relieved and the siege raised. The story was, that the besiegers, having taken prisoner Mr. Luttrell's mother, sent in a summons thus: "If you will yet deliver up the castle, you shall have fair quarter; if not, expect no mercy; your mother shall be in the front to receive the first fury of your cannon. We expect your answer." The Governor is supposed to reply, "If you do what you threaten, you do the most barbarous and villainous act that was ever done. My mother I honour, but the cause I fight for and the masters I serve, God and the King, I honour more. Mother, do you forgive me and give me your blessing, and let the rebels answer for spilling that blood of yours, which I would save with the loss of mine own, if I had enough for both my master and yourself." To this the mother is supposed to

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answer: "Son, I forgive thee for this brave resolution. If I live I shall love thee the better for it; God's will be done." The story then adds that just at this moment there appeared Lord Wentworth, Sir Richard Granville, and Colonel Webb, who, attacking the besiegers, killed many, took a thousand prisoners, rescued the mother, and relieved the castle.

This report is here quoted from its original source, "Mercurius Academicus." It has been often repeated, but was not true. The siege was not raised, the castle was not relieved at this time, and the supposed chief actors in the affair were then in Cornwall, or on the borders of Devon. The Parliamentary party soon cried it down as "ale house intelligence and a feeble lie."

CHAPTER VII

1646–1649

The final struggle—Refuses to serve under Lord Hopton—Is committed to Launceston Castle—Court martial refused—Outcry of the people and mutiny of the troops in consequence—Removed to St. Michael's Mount—Is allowed to escape to France—His Parthian shot at Colepeper—Visits Italy—A venturesome journey to England—His son's death—Writes his "Narrative" in Friesland—Endeavours to advance the King's cause in Ireland.

AT the beginning of January 1646 the relative positions of the two armies were broadly these: The main body of Fairfax's forces were at Tiverton, with detached garrisons holding posts on both sides of the Exe. The Royalist army was grouped in two divisions, separated by Dartmoor; the one principally of horse under the command of Lord Wentworth, who had succeeded Lord Goring, occupying the country between the Dart and the Teign, and having their headquarters at Ashburton; the other, consisting of both horse and foot, lying partly at and about Okehampton under Granville, and partly at Tavi-

stock, where the Prince of Wales was himself collecting all the loose contributions of men, money and supplies which could be obtained from the county in his rear. He calculated that he would have all told 6000 foot and 5000 horse at his disposal; but unfortunately for him, his body was formidable in numbers only; the army was little better than a mob; scarcely an officer of rank would take orders from his superiors; and the men, stinted of every kind of supply, were scattered in small groups from Exeter to Land's End.

Fairfax's remodelled army was indeed somewhat weakened by the necessity of despatching Fleetwood and Whalley to watch the King's cavalry at Oxford, but it was still strong enough to contrive the blockade of Exeter, and to deal with the approaching enemy in his existing state of disorganisation. His troops were, as a matter of fact, in an ill plight for the resumption of the campaign after their already arduous services; there had been a great deal of sickness among them; their clothes were in tatters; it was the depth of winter; snow had been on the ground for at least a month, and the weather was exceptionally severe.

Nevertheless the campaign was renewed on January 9 by Cromwell, second in command, marching to Bovey Tracey, which he surprised by a night attack and captured. A number of the

Royalist Horse lay there in fancied security, demoralised by a laxity of discipline which Lord Hopton, in his Reminiscences, afterwards referred to as the one great cause of the misfortunes of the prince's army. Twelve of the Royalists were slain and sixty taken prisoners; and three hundred and fifty horses and three hundred arms, as well as seven standards, one of which was a king's colour, fell into the hands of the Parliamentarians.

Insubordinate and tyrannical as Sir Richard Granville was, he was at heart a soldier; and his first impulse on hearing of Wentworth's mishap, was to write a letter to the prince, in which he represented the impossibility of keeping the army together or fighting with it in its then disorganised condition, and recommended that a more absolute command should be given to some one whom all would obey, naming either Lord Hopton or the Earl of Brentford, but especially excepting himself on account of the severity and discipline in which he always kept his own men, which might make him disagreeable to that part of the army which had been accustomed under Goring to such licence as he himself could never overlook.

Lord Hopton, who was one of the Prince's Council, was a high-minded, disinterested, and irreproachable Cavalier. He had been the great friend of Sir Bevill Granville, and with him had, at the outbreak of the war, formed the army for

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"THE KING'S GENERAL IN THE WEST," SIR RICHARD GRANVILLE, BART.

the king in the west, and had proved himself repeatedly a most successful commander. The Prince of Wales accordingly made an order on January 15 commissioning Lord Hopton to take sole charge of the army, and appointing Lord Wentworth to command all the horse, and Granville the foot, and Lord Capel the prince's Guards; and the prince sent Sir Richard a letter of thanks for his advice, which he said he had followed.

But, as Lord Lansdown says, it could not be reasonably imagined that by proposing to quit the chief command, Sir Richard's design could be to obey in an inferior post in the same army. Accordingly he absolutely refused to act in the subordinate position the prince had assigned to him. To the prince he wrote desiring to be excused on account of his health, but to Lord Colepeper he made no disguise, but stated openly that he could not consent to be commanded by Lord Hopton. And in his "Narrative" he writes: "On the 15th of January 1645 Sir Richard Grenville received orders in writing from the Prince to be Lieutenant-General of the foot under the command of Lord Hopton, which, being a condition inferior to his late former command, and a command under one not very well affected to him, he deemed it not right to be imposed on him, alledging his great disability of body to

perform such a charge, occasioned by his late wounds and believing he should be more serviceable in the Prince's commands if he were employed recruiting the army and guarding the passes of Cornwall, which he earnestly desired of the Prince at that time, having given his judgement and opinion that the army was in no condition then to march out of the county."

This was understood by Hyde and the Council to be some underhand trick, by which Sir Richard desired to place himself at the head of a strong discontented party in opposition to the Prince of Wales. "It plainly appeared now that his drift was to stay behind and command Cornwall, with which the Prince thought he had no reason to trust him, neither was it thought safe to leave him free to continue his intrigues." Accordingly the prince sent for Granville and told him "the extreme ill consequence that would attend the public service if he should there and in such manner quit the charge His Highness had committed to him—that more should not be expected of him than should be agreeable to his health, and that if he took the command upon him he should take what adjutants he pleased to assist him."

But in spite of all that the prince and such of his friends as thought they had interest in him could say, he continued obstinate and positively

refused to accept the commission, or to receive orders from Lord Hopton.

Such insubordination was considered unpardonable, and the prince therefore caused him to be arrested, and he was committed a close prisoner to the Governor of Launceston Castle on January 19, and the following day was cashiered from the various regiments he had commanded without any court-martial having been held.

Sir Richard in his "Narrative" stated afterwards that he was informed by some of good quality and credit that there had been a design to put him out of all command some weeks before, only it was to be so managed that he himself was to give the occasion and make the refusal.

Lord Lansdown mentions a circumstance connected with his arrest which greatly enhances Sir Richard's honour and loyalty. Colonel Roscarrock, an officer of distinction, rode hastily up to him and whispered to him not to submit to so unjust a sentence; he was sure of the resentment of the troops; they would stand by him and follow wherever he would lead. But Sir Richard severely rebuked him, enjoining a strict obedience to the commands of the prince, to which, whatever might be his fate, he was resolved to submit in everything that was consistent with his honour. And in this he required all who had any regard for him to follow his example. He thus sacri-

ficed at the same time the two strongest passions of human nature—self-preservation and revenge.

In order to justify so extraordinary a step as Sir Richard's arrest, Lord Lansdown states that "a *Siquis* or Proclamation was published, inviting and encouraging all manner of persons to appear and give evidence of their grievances during this arbitrary General's command. If there had been any in reality, well-grounded or supportable, it is natural to believe that complainants would not have been wanting against a man so disgraced that to accuse him was making their court. Now or never was the time for all murder and plunder to come out—but to the Chancellor's infinite surprise, not one mortal appeared." On the contrary, his arrest caused great distractions; the whole county took offence; even the very persons who had formerly complained of his tyrannous conduct as much as any, expressed great concern, whilst the soldiers, who were sincerely attached to him, in spite of his overbearing manners, "refused to be commanded either by Gorians or by Hoptonians."

"Whoever had observed the temper of that county towards Sir Richard," writes Lord Clarendon, "or the clamours of the common people against his oppression and tyranny, would not have believed that such a necessary proceeding against him at that time could have been an

unpopular act; there being scarce a day in which some petition was not presented against him. As the Prince passed through Bodmin he had received petitions from the wives of many substantial and honest men; amongst the rest, of the Mayor of Listihiel, who was very eminently well affected and useful to the King's service; all of whom Grenvil had committed to the common gaol for presuming to fish in that river, the royalty of which he pretended belonged to him by virtue of the sequestration granted him by the King of the Lord Roberts' estate at Lanhetherick; whereas they who were committed pretended to a title, and had always used the liberty of fishing in those waters as tenants to the Prince of his Highness's manor of Listithiel, there having been long suits between Lord Roberts and the tenants of that manor for that royalty. And when his Highness came to Tavistock he was again petitioned by many women for the liberty of their husbands, whom Sir Richard had committed to prison for refusing to grind at his mill, which, he said, they were bound by custom to do. So by his martial power he had asserted whatever civil interest he thought fit to lay claim to, and never discharged any man out of prison till he absolutely submitted to his pleasure . . . yet, notwithstanding all this, Sir Richard was no sooner committed than even

those who had complained of him much as any expressed great trouble, and many officers of those forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner petitioned for his release and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the people and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against Sir Richard Grenvil, in which none were more forward than some of the Prince's own household servants, who were so tender of him that they forgot their duty to their Master."

After Sir Richard's committal, the officers and soldiers of the army, to the number of 4000, presented a petition to the Prince of Wales that he might be speedily brought to his trial before a court of war, there to receive the justice that belongs to a soldier, or else be restored to his former commands.

Afterwards Sir Richard himself petitioned the prince that he might speedily account for any crime he had been guilty of, or else have leave to depart the kingdom for his own safety and preservation. But both petitions were rejected, and the prince's Council returned the answer that Sir Richard's "crime was against the King and his service, and therefore His Majesty should first be acquainted therewith and then Sir Richard should know his answer."

Even imprisonment did not check Granville's

tyranny. Amongst the many prisoners at Launceston whom he himself had committed was the mayor of St. Ives, whose arrest has been already mentioned. The mayor's son had petitioned the prince at Truro for his father's liberty, and the petition had been referred to Sir Richard with the direction that, if the case was in truth as the son had stated, he should discharge him. As soon as the son brought the petition to Sir Richard he put it in his pocket, told him the prince did not understand the matter, and committed the son as well to gaol, causing irons to be put on him for his presumption.

When the prince heard this he again ordered their release, but Sir Richard sent to the gaoler to forbid him, at his peril, to discharge the prisoners, threatening to make him pay the £500 he claimed of the mayor, and actually caused an action to be entered in the Town Court at Launceston upon the forfeiture of the bond.

The imprisonment of Granville and the dissensions that arose in consequence gave the finishing stroke to the war in the West; the service everywhere languished; the soldiers gradually deserted, and Lord Hopton was compelled, after some faint resistance, to disband and accept of such conditions as the enemy would give.

Lord Clarendon, writing in his retirement at Jersey to Sir Edward Nicholas a few months

afterwards, commented on the incidents of Sir Richard's arrest thus:

"In the imprysoning of Sir Richard Grenvile (who is most unworthy of y^e^ reputacion he had) we were absolutely necessitated to it . . . We had no reason to believe his interest in y^e^ County soe great; neither in truth was it, but y^e^ gen^rl^ indisposicion, which at y^e^ time possessed men, was very apparent, when those very men who complayned against him and seemed to despise him, took occasion to grumble at his removal."

So marked was the feeling of indignation amongst the soldiers against Sir Richard's imprisonment, that it was deemed expedient to remove him from Launceston; and a warrant was signed committing him as a prisoner to Barnstaple; but as the course of events rendered this impracticable, his destination was altered to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, whither he was conveyed under the care of a corporal and ten troopers, it being the intention of the Council finally to send him a close prisoner to the Scilly Islands.

Whilst Sir Richard was a prisoner there he employed certain of his servants to remove such goods as he had then in Cornwall into some place of safety—"some of which goods being nigh Penryn were on their removal made stay of, his truncks broke open and searched, where finding nothing questionable they were afterwards dis-

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missed. The other part of his goods being embarked at Padstow had a more severe fortune, for General Hopton, without any order from his Highness, sent an officer of his to survey the goods, and he compelled all to be again brought on land, and then he with his associates, broke open every trunck, chest, pack, and box locked, forcing the servants away from the sight of their actions. And then every man took to himself what he found pleasing, and also invited others of the army to share of what was left ; and shortly afterwards the enemy drove them thence, and took all the remainder of the goods of any great value."

The Prince of Wales, who had removed to Truro for greater safety after the defeat of the Royalists at Torrington, now sought still further security in the fine old circular castle of Henry VIII.'s time which crowned, as it still does, the height of Pendennis, near Falmouth, and was held by Colonel John Arundel, of Trerice (a cousin of the Granvilles), and a Royalist garrison. But, on March 2, when news came that his army was retiring from Bodmin, and that the enemy was "marching furiously after it," and that there was a design for seizing the prince's person, preparations for flight were hurried on, and a frigate fully provisioned lay at anchor close to the castle.

Sir Richard, in his extremity, sent another urgent petition to the prince, "for leave to depart the Kingdom, and that his services might find some other reward than the delivering him up into the hands of that enemy from whence he had no reason to expect the least degree of mercy." Accordingly, the prince, before he escaped himself, left orders behind that Sir Richard might be allowed to escape also, to prevent his falling into the hands of the army; and the day following the prince's escape, March 3, Sir Richard took boat and sailed for Brest, where he arrived on the 14th, and journeyed from thence to Nantes, where, after some delay, he was joined by his son Richard and his tutor, Mr. Herbert Ashley, who had been living at Rouen since the beginning of the year 1644.

The following letters were written by Sir Richard to his son's tutor, Mr. Ashley, after his arrival in France, urging them to join him as quickly as possible at Nantes.

"Sir,—I am now travailing towards Nants and intend to stay there till I heare from you; and so do now write again to the same effect,—which is to desire that you come with my sonne to me at Nants with all convenient speede, and that you bring with you all the remainder of your money made of the sarges I sent over longe since, and an

account of the same. Mr. George Potter merchant is now at St Maloes and will assist you for your journey in any thing needful

"Your friend

"RICHARD GRENVILE.

"BREST, *March* 24, New Stile."

"SIR,—In my two former letters I advertised you that I landed at Brest in Brittany on the 14th of March, and by both those two letters I desired that you and my sonne should come to me so soone as you could, and to bring with you all the remainder of the monies made or to be made of the sarges I last sent over for your maintenance; but because I have heard nothing of you since my landing, I now therefore againe desire you together with my sonne to travaile to Nants, where Mr. John Hole merchant will advise and assist you in what I desire you should followe.

I pray take notis that Mr. George Potter merchant is one that will take sufficient order for your comeing to me, if you meete with him. He is now at St Maloes and will be (as I am informed) speedily at Roan. If you come to St Maloes and finde there a ship bound for Nantes it may chance to be your speediest passage by sea; but if you come by land your best meanes will be to agree with the usuall messenger that comes weekly to

Nants. I desire your coming to me should be so private as may be and as speedy.

"Your faithful friend

"Richard Grenvile

"Nants, *April* 3, 1646."

"Nants, *April* 18, 1646.

"Sir,

"Yours of the 31st of March came to my handes the 16th of this. I have not received a word from or of you since I came into France, though I have sent 5 severall letters to you, which imported (as this doth) your speedy coming to me now at Nants, where with trouble I stay expecting you. I conceived the sarges would well have yielded monies to supply your necessary occasions; but being not sold, as by your letter, I have taken order that Mr. George Potter (an English merchant at St Maloes) should order his correspondent at Roan to pay you 300 or 400 Livers bournois, if you neede it, and to advise you to come to me with my sonne the shortest and nighest way. If your stay be longe you will misse me, for I am speedily for Italie. I pray send to Mr George Potter merchant at St Maloes a coppy of the note of the severall pieces of sarges which I sent you from England, or else as they now remaine, that he may know how to dispose of them that are

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not yet sold. Let your journey be as private as it may.

"Your affectionate friend
"RICHARD GRENVIL."

In April they left Nantes and proceeded to Italy, "for the war against the Turk, not much unlike the unhappy war of England." There they stayed about a year, visiting Naples and other cities.

Before leaving Nantes Sir Richard wrote the following amusing letter to "An Honourable Person in the City of London concerning the Affairs of the West," which he published. It is a Parthian shot against Lord Colepeper who, with Hyde, had taken the initiative in having him deposed from his command and incarcerated in Launceston Castle :

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"Former obligations have moved me to represent unto you my affectionate service. I am now at Nantes in France and about to depart hence towards Italy for the war against the Turk (not much unlike the unhappy war of England). My Lord, I truly value you in the number of my best and honourable friends, and therefore have presumed to send you herewith a narrative truth concerning the former proceedings of the affairs

of the West of England, though not so particular as the evil managing thereof deserved: since which an unhappy feast chanced at Penrin a town near Pendennis Castle in Cornwal, for Hopton with his new forces (lately before) taking a strange affright at a party of the Parliament's forces at Torrington in Devon and flying into Cornwall with his men dispersed several ways like a wild goose chase; the sad newes thereof made the prince command the Earl of Brandford and Lord Culpepper with all speed to meet the Lord Hopton and Lord Capel at Wadebridge nigh the heart of Cornwal, to advise on affairs for the safety of the West (I think to shut the stable door when the horse was gone), but Culpepper in his haste and way, finding some gentlemen merry and drinking in Penrin town, he would needs make one amongst them and so did till night came, and then, Bacchus prevailing, Culpepper's displeased Mr. Slingsby, by which grew a quarrel betwixt them two onely; and at bare fisty cuffs they were a good space, till the company parted them; and then Culpepper and Slingsby in the moonshine got them into the garden, and like two cocks at the end of a battel, not able to stand well, offer'd and peck'd at one another till the weight of Slingsby's head drew him down to the ground, which advantage Culpepper took hold of, and by it got Slingsby's sword, and then, like

St. George, made much more triumphant flourishes over Slingsby than a German fencer at the beginning of a prize; but by good fortune the rest of the associates came in and easily persuaded the duellists to end the quarrel by the cup again; which service continued until the next day with divers and various bouts at fisticuffs. The next day about ten of the clock, they having red herrings and mustard for breakfast, Culpepper again gave Slingsby distaste, whereon he threw a dish of mustard in Culpepper's face (taking his nose for a red herring!) which procured another grievous encounter, in such sort that the Market-people, to part the fray, thronged the house full, whereby that also was taken up and the saucy lord, fain to get his mustard face, eyes, beard and coat washed, and about four of the next evening Culpepper rid on in his hasty journey to overtake the Lord of Branford who rid chafing and staying for him about twenty-four hours in his way. Such a Privy Councellor will soon finish his master's businesse one way, preferring his own delights before the important businesse that concerns the safety of the Prince, etc. This story is, indeed, very true in every particular, so I leave it with you and depart.

"Your lordship's humble servant,

"RICHARD GRENVILE.

"*April* 9, 1646, New Stile."

While Sir Richard was in Italy, Lady Grace Granville, the widow of his brother Bevill, died, broken-hearted and sorrowful at the total overthrow of the Royal cause in the West, to which so much life and treasure had been sacrificed, and was laid to rest by the side of her brave husband in Kilkhampton Church, on June 8, 1647. It was probably urgent business in connection with the Stowe Estate that induced Sir Richard to undertake a very venturesome journey to England at this time. He knew well the estimation in which he was held and how odious he was to the Parliament —so odious that on November 28 in the following year he was expressly named in the Treaty of Newport as one of the seven to be absolutely excluded from pardon, and again later, under the Protectorate in a secret Treaty with France, he was one of the twenty obnoxious persons to be excluded from either country.

But venturesome as the journey was he undertook it and arrived in London in June, his son having already preceded him. He disguised himself, cutting off his hair and wearing "a very large periwigg hanging on his shoulders," and keeping his beard, which was doubtless auburn (like his brother Bevill's), if not of a brighter hue (hence his nick-name *Red*-Fox given him by his enemies) black "with a blacklede combe" so that "none would know him but by his voyse."

Such was the evidence of one "William Matthew, Commander of ye good shipe the *Expedicon* of Plym." taken before Charles Ceely, Mayor of Plymouth, and Bartholomew Nicholls, Justice of the Peace, on July 5, 1647.

How long he stayed in England is not known or whether he was recognised. Records of all kinds are very scanty for that year. It is certain, however, that he escaped with his life and retired to Friesland, where he bought a house, and settled with his daughter Elizabeth. But of his son we hear no more. He probably was discovered and met his death by treachery, for Lord Lansdown mentions that he fell into the enemy's hands and was hanged, whilst Hals, the Cornish Chronicler, delighting as was his wont to say anything sour of his fellow countrymen, gives the incredible story in his MS. that he was executed at Tyburn "for robbinge passengers on the highway to relieve his necessity."

One of Sir Richard's first cares in his exile in Holland was to vindicate his conduct as a soldier by publishing "A Narrative of the affairs in the West from September 2, 1644 to March 2, 1646." This Narrative is reprinted by Carte in his "Original Letters," published in 1739, vol. 1, pp. 99–109.

In anticipation of some such attempted justification, Hyde had already completed (July 31, 1646)

an account of events from March 1645 to May 1646 from the point of view of the Prince's Council, the greater part of which he afterwards embodied in his "History of the Rebellion."

The horror inspired by the trial and execution of Charles I. produced a revulsion of feeling favourable to his successor in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Yet in England there was nothing to hope, for the power of the army prevailed, and on February 7, 1649, the remnant of the Long Parliament, called the Rump, voted the abolition of monarchy as "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the safety and public interests of the people of this nation," and a month later (March 9), the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Holland, and Lord Capel died, like their master, on the scaffold. But in the sister kingdoms, while the power of the English army was not yet felt, the aspect of affairs was hopeful. The Irish confederates resolved "not to stick at trifles," in the face of so great a calamity; made peace with the Lord Lieutenant, and enabled him to draw a new army into the field. At the end of January Prince Rupert arrived at Kinsale with his fleet, and Ormonde was so well pleased that he sent Lord Byron to Paris to render an account to the queen, and hasten the coming of Charles to Ireland. "Money and that a little," he wrote, "if joined with the Prince, his presence with an undivided council,

and a contracted revenue, would infallibly end the matter here."

But Scotland also claimed the young king and promised him help, provided he would sign the Solemn League and Covenant and desert his own religion.

Discussion raged hotly at the exiled Court. Hyde and his party stood out for Ireland; Percy, Colepeper, and Long were for Scotland, and were so confident of the queen's support that Percy wrote to urge her speedy coming to the Hague as the only means to overthrow Hyde's influence. But Henrietta had been won over to the Irish project by Byron, and she declared her intention of accompanying her son to Ireland. Scottish claims, however, as we know, in the end won the day.

Apparently, Sir Richard, in spite of the disgrace into which he had fallen as the King's General in the West, was mixed up in the counsel that favoured Ireland, as his name appears amongst others, headed by the new king and his brother James, Duke of York, who "have been plotting and assisting the rebellion in Ireland" (March 14, 1649), and Parliament proclaimed them as "proscribed and banished as enemies and traitors to die without mercy wherever they shall be found within the limits of this nation, and their estates confiscated."

CHAPTER VIII

1650–1654

The King again purposes to employ him—Hyde's opposition thereto—Supplies the Duke of York with money and the garrisons in Scilly and Guernsey with clothes and food—Another projected rising in the West—Unlawful reprisals on the Earl of Suffolk.

SIR RICHARD states that while living in Friesland in February 1650 he received the king's commands by letter from Germany "imparting his pleasure that for some special occasions towards his service he would have him return speedily to a place convenient in France nigh him, to be resident to attend his services." Accordingly he obeyed, and, selling his house at a great loss, hurried off to join the king whom he found at Beauvais, "on his way for Holland," and "continued at hand attending his pleasure, till to his great grief he departed for Scotland again." The following is a copy of the letter of Safe Conduct of Louis XIV. for Sir Richard's journey from Holland into France. :

"A tous etc vt supra que vous ayez a laisser

securement et librement passer par tous les endroicts de vos pouvoirs jurisdictions et destroicts le Sir Richard Grenville, Chevalier Anglais, venant d'Hollande en ce Royaume passant par la Flandres avec dix Anglais de sa suite pour le service de nre tres cher et tres bon aime bon Frere et Cousin le Roy de la Grande Bretagne. sans luy donner ny a ceux de sa suite aucun arrest, treuble ou empeschement mai au contraire toute ayde, faveut, et assistance, car tel est notre plaisir. Donne a Dijon le 28 jour de Mars mil six cens cinquane.

" Louis.

" Par le Roy la Regne,
" Regente sa Mere prete,
" Delominie."

What the king's intention had been of employing Sir Richard's services is clear from a memorandum by Colonel Keane, dated March 18, 1650. A simultaneous rising of the Royalists throughout England, in connection with the Marquis of Montrose's rising in Scotland, had been agreed upon ; and in the West of England Sir John Arundel of Lanherne and Colonel Richard Arundel had written desiring that Sir Richard might be sent with all speed with 1000 foot and arms for them and 300 horses, forty barrels of powder and other ammunition proportionally, and a fortnight's pay to the Scilly Islands, which were then being held for the

king by Sir John Granville ; and they undertook (no army of the enemy lying upon or near to them, and the king or any army for him appearing in any part of England) to raise and arm 3000 foot, to seize some place of strength in their country in one month's time after his landing, to settle and secure it for the king, and then to march with 3000 foot and 200 horse wheresoever required, and to pay them out of the contributions of their county. They said, however, that they could not undertake this without Sir Richard Granville, and they conceived him worthy of the Lieutenant-General's place under the Marquis of Hertford, whom they desired for their General. For themselves they only desired the command of a regiment.

The king replied that he took particular notice of their affection and forwardness, and approved their intentions ; he had already granted most of what they had requested about Sir Richard, and arms and ammunition were already destined to Scilly. He earnestly desired them to take especial care to lay all their designs in fit time and places, and, if there was a general concurrence in other counties, to rise and declare all at one time if possible, unless he should command otherwise ; he advised their surprising some places of strength, especially Pendennis and Plymouth, and bade them keep a constant correspondence with their

neighbouring counties and some other parts more remote. Their own modest requests as to commands he readily granted.

But though the king had thus promised to give Sir Richard the command which the Arundels had asked for him, he was afterwards over-persuaded to withdraw his word. Evidently Hyde was at the bottom of his being rejected for the post, as in a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas to Hyde, dated May 4, 1650, he says:

"I now perceive Sir Richard Grenville to be, *as you say*, of a very odd humour, and I doubt a person not fit to be trusted with so great employments and charges; as he is not only ambitious of but so pressing for as he will not serve if he must go less."

And in a letter from Lord Beauchamp, the eldest son of the Marquis of Hertford, to Henry Seymour, Groom of the Bedchamber, second son of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, dated May 31, 1650, we read:

"This bearer will give you some reasons why we have thought fit to bring to the King's consideration the disposing the Lieutenant General of Horses' place from Sir Richard Grenville to my Lord Shandoys (Chandos)."

Sir Richard never forgave Hyde for the part he took in thus ousting him from his command, and,

as we shall see, he tried by every means in his power to undermine the king's confidence in him.

But the rising in England never became necessary through the king's misguided conduct in yielding to the Scotch Covenanters. He landed in June in the Firth of Cromarty, and having taken the Covenant, was crowned at Scone on June 1, 1651. He exhibited courage and conduct in opposing Cromwell's troops before Edinburgh, but his cause was hopeless from the first, owing to the discord among his supporters. He suddenly determined to leave Scotland and march into England, and succeeded in reaching Worcester, where on September 3, 1651, he received so severe a defeat that his cause seemed utterly ruined. He escaped from the battle, and after the well-known flight of forty-four days through the western counties and along the south coast, succeeded in finding a ship near Brighton which landed him safely in France once more.

After the king's departure to Scotland Sir Richard lived for a time in Brittany at St. Malo.

"There I employed my own monies and great labours to advantage in the King's service, as in supplying Sorlinges with what was in my power, also in cloathing and victualling the soldiers of Guernsey-Castle, when no man else would do it, they being almost naked and starved."

He also presented £600 to the Duke of York,

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who had accompanied his brother the king to Jersey in 1649, and had been left there ever since in great pecuniary want. The following is the letter which accompanied the gift:

"May it please your Royal Highness:

"Hearing your Highness is under some straits at Jersey since His Majesty left you there, I have presumed, out of my great zeal for your Highness's service, by the assistance of an honest loyal merchant here in St. Malo's, Mr. John Richards, to make your Highness a present of Six Hundred Pounds, which I humbly present by the bearer Major Madren, a Cornish gentleman who was Major to my regiment when I had the honour to be His Majesty's General in the West.

"He will farther acquaint your Highness that I have likewise out of my small stock sent a relief of clothes for the soldiers and provisions to Colonel Hodge Burges at Guernsey Castle, which will enable him to defend that place the longer against the Rebels in the Island. These voluntary services, I hope, will preserve me in your Highness's good opinion, notwithstanding I have so powerful an enemy as Sir Edward Hyde to misrepresent my actions and loyalty to the King, to whose service, and to your Royal Highness's, I shall be always devoted with great sincerity.

"Presuming, therefore, upon my duty to your Highness, I must beseech you to admit me to make an humble petition on behalf of a nephew, my godson, now with me, second son to my brother, Sir Bevill Granville, who was slain at Lansdown; that your Highness would be pleased to receive him into your family and service, near your Person. His education has been, since he left his brother in Scilly, at an Academy in Angers, and I find his inclinations lead him to venture his life and run his fortune in the immediate service of your Highness. Wherefore I will be answerable for him, and support him, if your Highness will please to accept of his service, beseeching your Highness to believe me with the utmost submission and duty,

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"Your Royal Highness's most obedient
and most dutiful Servant,

"RICHARD GRENVILE.

"From ST. MALO, 1650."

The nephew for whom he pleads was young Bernard Granville, who when barely eighteen years of age had made his escape from his tutor, and by the help of Mr. Rashleigh, of Menabilly, near Fowey, where he lay concealed for the purpose, had managed to carry considerable reinforcements to his brother, Sir John Granville, in the Scilly Islands.

The following is the Duke's answer from Jersey :

"Sir Richard Grenville,—

"I have received from the hands of Major Madren the Six Hundred Pounds you have most seasonably supply'd me with in this place, the want of money having detain'd me here ever since the King went to Breda ; but now with this help I will suddenly remove, and wheresoever I am retain a memory of this your particular service to myself.

"What you have desired of me concerning your nephew, now with you, when I am in a condition to increase my family I will take into my service upon your recommendation ; but for the present my condition will allow me no more near my Person but Harry Jermyn and Charles Barclay. When I leave this place you shall know where to address to.

"Your affectionate Friend,

"James."

After his escape from England the king, for the next nine years, led a wandering life in France, Germany, and the Low Countries ; sometimes relieved, sometimes repulsed, according as the various sovereigns or their ministers threw off or yielded to their dread of Cromwell. He was accompanied by a few faithful adherents, but his little

court was also beset by intriguing turbulent men, and by spies, who betrayed his counsels and caused the numerous attempted risings of his friends, both in England and Scotland, to be failures.

Sir Richard followed the Court in most of its wanderings, and the following letter to him from the king has reference no doubt to another projected rising in the West, which, like the others, came to nothing :

"Sir Richard Greenvile,

"Though it be not seasonable for me to give powers to any to appeare for me in regard of the diverse affecons and dispositions of y^e^ people I have to deale with in the present conjuncture of my affaires, yet I hold it requisite to cherishe the good affecons of those who have the like kindness for me, as I have observed in you, desiring you to continue constant therein, and to keepe your selfe in readiness for my imployments, when it shalbe seasonable ; and in the meane time not only to be your selfe very secret and circumspect in what concernes my interests, but by all meanes to procure that all others be soe likewise, least if the Rebels shall discerne and app'hend any disposition and intentions in any of my good subjects to assist me, they shall, to p'vent the same, use violence on those that are best in-

clin'd to my service. I have so great confidence in your affecons as I am assured of your readines, and when there shalbe a fitt opportunity you shalbe sure to hear from

"Your very loving friend,

"CHARLES R.

"ST. JOHNSTONS, *2 of 8ber*, 1650."

And the very same day the king also wrote to Sir John Granville in the Scilly Isles as follows:

"SIR JOHN GREENVILE,

"Considering how important it would be for the good of my affaires to have a body of men in a readines to countenance any attempt that shalbe made by my good subjects in the West for the recovering my just Rights, their owne Libertys, and suppressing the present barbarous and bloody Usurpers, especially in a place soe neere and opportune for the seconding any such enterprize, as that under your charge; I have thought good to desire and require you to gather and entertaine as many souldiers and to provide what store of Armes and Munition you can possibly and as may consist with the necessary subsistence of y^e^ Garrison under your comand, to be ready to be seasonably transported on any good occasion. In w^c^ busines soe highly conducing to the good of my service, as I am very confident, your particular relation and affecon to my Person and interests,

will prompt you to imploy your utmost industry and assistance; soe you may rest assured that what you shall therein performe shalbe acknowledged on any seasonable occasion that may manifest your deserts and ye esteeme and kindnes I have for you; who am

"Your very loving Friend

"CHARLES R.

"ST. JOHNSTONS, 2 *of* 8*ber*, 1650."

Sir Richard seems at this time to have attempted reprisals upon the Earl of Suffolk, upon whom he considered he had a considerable demand in right of his wife, who, it will be remembered, was the widow of the earl's younger brother. Sir Richard had sued for his money from the former earl, and had obtained a decree in Chancery for the payment of the debt; but the old earl had defied him, and stood out all processes of law in contempt of the Chancery, and a commission of rebellion had been issued against him. The present earl, in 1652, had sent over to Bruges certain goods and household stuff from England in pledge of a debt which he owed to Sir Charles Harbord. Sir Richard heard of this, and violently seized them on the pretext that he was a creditor of the late earl's, and had obtained the decree of the English Court of Chancery in his favour, and so had a prior claim on the goods. Now, by the English law neither

was the present Earl of Suffolk bound by that decree, nor could the goods be distrained under it. The decision of the court to that effect was transmitted to the Archduke Leopold of Austria, who was the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and he was requested to cause Sir Richard to restore the goods, inasmuch as it was against the comity of nations that any one should be allowed an action in foreign jurisdiction which he could not be allowed in the country where the cause of the action first arose (Milton's Latin "State Letters").

In March 1654 Sir Richard wrote to one Ralph Parker as follows: "You name in yours of the 7th my lord's approval that Sir John Minto should adjust the business between him and me, and that you will send papers to the Hague, where neither I nor my procureur, John Mickelfelt, who has my proofs, instructions, and procurations to see my right made good, can be; but I will submit to Sir John's judgment if he will come to Middleburg, where my procureur shall attend him; for I will not be ousted out of my rights by subtleties. If he will not come there, and neither Sir Pat: Drummond, Mr. Regamorter, nor any others in Zealand are accepted for references, the process at law there must determine it. I will lose no time about my process. I will be at Bruges next week."

On August 8 in that year Sir Richard deposed in the presence of the magistrates of Bruges (and his statement was agreed to by Mr. Noblet, the late Earl of Suffolk's attorney), that there was due to him from the estates of Theophilus, late Earl of Suffolk, £45,000 sterling, principal and interest, besides costs and damages; and an extract was put in from the day-book of James Robinson of goods received of September 20, 1652, from a Dutch ship on the earl's account, viz., two very great coffers, two great flat coffers, twelve great packs of tapestry, fourteen packs of Turkey carpets worth £45,000 Flemish or £27,000 English.

In spite of much litigation and the State letter to the archduke, Sir Richard continued to retain these goods which he had seized; and even five years afterwards, when Sir Richard was nearing his end, his daughter Elizabeth writes on the 10th of May, 1659, and petitions the king about them: "I am constrained by my father's debility to carry on a suit against William Rutlis before the Privy Council of his Catholic Majesty here; but Sir Henry de Vic, your agent, without your knowledge, takes my adversaries part and thus retards my affairs. I beg you to forbid him to meddle with it, and to recommend it yourself to the Council here." But the king replied that De Vic had not for many months done or said

anything in his (the king's) name in the business depending between her father and the Earl of Suffolk on this side the sea; and that he (the king) declined to interpose concerning the validity of that cause, and left the parties to proceed therein according to the law; yet if both parties could by mutual consent leave the determination thereof to him, he would do therein according to justice and equity. But Sir Richard evidently did not care to accept the king's generous offer, and preferred to keep the goods in dispute; and he retained them till his death, when they were given up by his daughter without compensation.

CHAPTER IX

1654–1659

Accuses Hyde of treachery—Meeting of the King's Council—Is condemned and forbidden the Court—His "Defence against all Aspersions"—His embittered latter years—Still corresponds with the Court—His death—His daughter's marriage—The latter years of his divorced wife—Her death and will—Her supposed ghost.

SIR EDWARD HYDE had remained in Jersey writing his history of the Rebellion, but in September 1648 the outbreak of the second Civil War and the rumour of an expedition to England had called him to Holland to join Prince Charles. He found the court distracted by feuds and intrigues, and he was still regarded by most of the courtiers with as much jealousy and dislike as ever. When the king was beheaded they all hoped and believed that his influence with the young king would have ended, but, in spite of the queen's advice, Charles II., immediately after his escape from Worcester, summoned him to Paris. He joyfully obeyed the summons, and for the rest of the exile was the king's most trusted

adviser. He was at once appointed one of the committee of four, with whom the king consulted in all his affairs, and a member of the similar committee who corresponded with the Scottish Royalists.

For the first two years repeated attempts were made to shake the king's confidence in him. Papists and Presbyterians alike petitioned for his removal. Sir Richard (who knew well that Hyde had been the chief instigator of his imprisonment in Launceston gaol, as well as of his losing the command of the horse more recently under the Marquis of Hertford, and that he was his powerful enemy, ever ready to misrepresent his actions and loyalty to the king) was bitterly incensed against him, and as anxious as any to undermine Charles's confidence in him ; "So fat a hide ought to be well tanned," he wrote to his friend Sir Robert Long.

Long, whom Hyde had supplanted as the king's secretary, had for some time been whispering abroad that Hyde was a traitor, and in support of this statement he appealed to the testimony of Massonett, an under clerk, who had taught the king to write as a child, had followed him to Scotland, and had been captured at Worcester. In a letter dated May 16, 1652, Massonett gave certain information against Hyde which he professed to have derived from a maid-servant whom he had met in London. This woman, called variously

Elizabeth Hodges and Elizabeth Haughton, had formerly served Massonett's wife in Oxford; since then she had been employed in Cromwell's household, and was said to have asserted that she herself introduced Hyde and Edgeman, whom she knew well, into the Protector's presence at Whitehall. She added an accurate description of both their persons.

Armed with this letter Long proceeded cautiously. In July 1653 he confided to Sir Richard that the Chancellor was Cromwell's pensioner, and begged him to warn the king on his own responsibility, since an accusation coming from Long himself would be certainly disregarded. Granville, glad of a chance to injure his enemy, wrote to the king as desired, stating that Hyde had been "very lately in England and was strongly suspected of receiving a pension from Cromwell. Now if Hide hath done this unknown to your Majesty, he is, and too long hath been, a mischievous traytor." He concluded: "Some of great quality assure me he hath had long tyme a great pension paid him from England for intelligence"; and added that Elizabeth Hodges was ready to come over from England as witness, if her expenses were paid.

On September 19 the Marquis of Ormonde wrote saying that the king required to know Sir Richard's grounds for the charge, and requesting

him to send all writings received concerning it, and the names of those persons "of great quality" to whom he referred.

In obedience Sir Richard replied that he had first heard the report from Sir Edmund Wyndham, then at Boulogne, but had since had it confirmed by Colonel Keane at Paris and the Bishop of Derry at Flushing. He added to his statements comments on "the high rate" at which he considered Hyde's wife and family used to live at Antwerp, which it was evident could not be supported by honest means.

The next step was to demand of the Bishop and Wyndham the grounds of their accusation, which were found to be extremely small and unsatisfactory. The bishop, in reply, alleged a promise of secrecy concerning his informant, which he begged he might not be compelled to break; disclaimed all enmity towards Hyde, and protested that he had never stated the accusation as a fact; "only when the report was already mounted upon the wings of the wind, when many men's mouths were full of it, when Sir Richard Grenvile told me of it and of his (Hyde's) weekly packetts at the charge of a pistole a week, then indeed I answered that I had been told also he had a pension, but by whom, or when, or where, or for what end, I said nothing; I thanke God, if my credit be doubted, I can produce another

witnes who had the same relation, though not at the same time."

Wyndham's evidence proved even slighter, and he asserted that he had merely observed in "an accidental discourse upon the highway" concerning Long's disgrace that "if all were true that Long said, he could avenge himself."

Ormonde therefore wrote again to Granville, condemning his charge against Hyde as frivolous, and forbidding him the court in the king's name, until further pleasure.

There the matter seemed to be ended, but this was by no means the case. Lord Gerard next took up the cause, and denounced Hyde as a traitor in the presence of Berkeley, Taafe, and Bamfylde. Taafe promptly challenged his words, declaring himself the Chancellor's friend; but Gerard maintained his statement and contemptuously bade the other repeat it to the king or to Hyde. Taafe retorted that he was no "tale-bearer," but that if he were to repeat all that had passed the rest would be ashamed. This stimulated Gerard to write himself to the king, representing that Hyde had never cleared himself from the aspersions cast upon him by Sir Richard; and Hyde, forced at last to notice "the old foolish scandal," moved for an examination in Council.

The Council was called on January 13, 1654,

and Long repeated his story about Elizabeth Houghton before it, calling Massonett as his witness. He was supported by Sir Edward Herbert, who had spent the previous night in formulating counts against the Chancellor; but all the evidence collected by the Lord-Keeper amounted only to "a headless story" that Edmund Wyndham told Richard Granville, who wrote to Long, who wrote to this town that a certain person who passed by Boulogne had heard in England that Hyde was a pensioner of Cromwell's. The absurdity of the charge was so evident that it was received with shouts of laughter; but Hyde, merely observing that there were people in the town who had seen him daily in the town since he came from Spain, insisted on retiring while the matter was under discussion. As soon as he was gone Jermyn opened the debate with the remark "that he believed the Chancellor a very honest man," but thought there was a lesson to be learnt from the affair. It was evident "that an honest and innocent man might be calumniated," and on this analogy Long was probably as innocent as Hyde, and ought to be cleared and restored. Herbert then took up the parable, arguing that Hyde was neither convicted nor acquitted, and should therefore be suspended from office while Long prepared his proofs and produced his witness, Elizabeth Houghton, as he had offered to

do. And Long himself declared that since he had been dismissed unheard, the same measure ought, in common justice, to be dealt to his enemy.

To all this Charles answered hotly that the whole affair was a vain thing, "false and ridiculous," and that "this foul and foolish accusation was in itself sufficient to discredit Long for ever." Prince Rupert, to the chagrin of his friends, "who were much deceived in their expectation of his support," confirmed Charles's words, saying that "the attempt must trench at his Majesty's person higher than at the Chancellor's, in that these men must aim to govern the king," and therefore would fain deprive him of his most able minister.

James, who always followed Rupert's lead, spoke to the same effect, and Charles finally recalled Hyde, ordered him to resume his place at the table, and declared him in higher favour than ever. He added that he was sorry he was not in a condition to do more justice than to declare him innocent, and commanded Sir George Lane, who acted as Clerk of the Council, to draw up a formal declaration of the Chancellor's acquittal. This he did in the form of a Letter to the Secretary of State, which was published and circulated not only in France, but also in England, Holland, and elsewhere, setting forth that "His Majesty, having taken into consideration that the common rumour which He finds to be in many places, of the

Chancellor of the Exchequer being under an account of high treason, may draw a great prejudice upon His service in those high trusts which He has reposed in him, if the groundlessness and malice of that calumny should not appear in his vindication, has commanded me to transmit to you the enclosed copy of His Declaration and Judgment in Council with His pleasure for communicating the same as you find it convenient for His Majesty's service.

ORDER IN THE KING'S COUNCIL

$\frac{3}{13}$ January $165\frac{3}{4}$

Present: The King, Queen, Dukes of York and Gloucester, Prince Rupert, the Lord keeper, Lord Chamberlain, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Jermyn, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"Whereas on complaint on the 22nd of December last by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of certain discourses spread abroad to his prejudice, as if he were under accusation of high treason, and upon his humble desire that His Majesty should examine the ground of those discourses; His Majesty, after other inquiries, caused a letter to be read which had been written to himself in August last by Sir Richard Granville,

in which he informed His Majesty that the said Chancellor had made a step into England before his last coming to Paris, and that he had there private conferences with Cromwell, and that he had a pension paid him a long time out of England for intelligence—for justifying which information the said Sir Richard being required by His Majesty to send Him the grounds thereof, had sent a letter written to him by Mr. Robert Long, which was then likewise read; upon which matter, after His Majesty had examined other attestations made by Sir Richard which He found to be untrue, and some whereof His Majesty Himself knew to be false, His Majesty had formerly declared his judgement to the said Sir Richard, forbidding him to come into His Presence. And moreover His Majesty examined Peter Massonet at the Board the 12th of this instant, for regard he had been mentioned as one of the authors of that report, and likewise caused a paper written by the said Mr. Robert Long dated January 13, in justification of what he had formerly written to Sir Richard Granville, to be read, which paper His Majesty looks upon as a libel, derogatory from his own honour and justice as well as full of malice against Mr. Chancellor, and will hereafter take further consideration thereof. And upon the whole matter declares that the accusation and information against Mr. Chancellor

is a groundless and malicious calumny, and that He is very well satisfied of his constant integrity and fidelity in the Service of His Father and Himself. And moreover that He will in due time farther examine this unworthy combination against him, when it shall be more in his power to punish the persons who shall appear to be guilty of it. In the meantime His Majesty farther declares His former judgement that the said Sir Richard Granville shall not presume to come into His Presence."

Lord Lansdown, commenting on this crowning misfortune of Sir Richard's life, writes thus :

"Sir Richard's part was unavoidable. No generosity could have excused stifling information of so dangerous a nature. Concealment was high treason. He could not do less than communicate the advice, and he did it in the most private manner, in a letter to the King which His Majesty was at liberty either to stifle or examine as in his own evidence he should think fit. In this there could be no crime ; in silence there would, especially since those informations however improbable were not taken from rash and idle discourses, but signified under the hands of persons of note and character, who undertook for the proof. Neither was Sir Richard hasty or precipitate in producing his evidence ; he secured

his vouchers under hand and seal, before he ventured to advertise his Master. If there was any malicious combination, he positively denies any share in it. Yet such was the Chancellor's grudge to him, and to him only, that he was the sole person singled out to be punished. The rest were reserved to another time when His Majesty might have more power of examining and punishing. And yet when that time came and these very original accusers returned to the charge, reviving this very article in a Parliamentary Impeachment, Wyndham was liberally provided for; Mr. Robert Long was made Sir Robert and Auditor of the Exchequer, and Sir Richard, had he been alive, perhaps might have been a general again."

As it was, the enforced banishment from the Royal Presence broke his heart.* Early in 1654

* His daughter Elizabeth was evidently not with him at this critical time, as in a letter to Mr. Parker at the Prince's House, Flushing, he writes:

"BREDA, *August* 21, 1653.

"SIR,—I have received a letter from my daughter importuning me to get a receipt your wife promised. She complains of a very ill passage, but is well at London, and found many cousins of her name. Some were married and others shortly to be. Colonel Thornhill is going to be married to my brother's youngest daughter. Dr. Whitaker is by me, and I am now quit of the ague and fever. My daughter presents her service to you and your wife, as also to

he published a pamphlet entitled "Sir Richard Grenvile's Defence against all Aspersions (in the power or aim) of all malignant persons and to satisfy the contrary." It contained an autobiographical account of his life, services and sufferings, and is reprinted in Lord Lansdown's "Vindication." It concludes as follows :

"Oh put not your trust in Princes nor in any child of man for there is no help in them."

"Tho' these experiences have grieved me, yet they have of late done me good, for they mind me of my greatest duty, and accordingly I will pursue it, to seek my peace with God and man, and to find me a quiet dying-place in my native country, never again to touch with any worldly affairs.

"The premises being so ordered to publick view, it is free for the world to judge whether or not I am guilty of a crime worthy of banishment, because as my conceived duty I advertiz'd the

my Lord and Sir Marmaduke Langdale if nigh you. Pray hasten our vessel to sea so as not to lose fair weather.

"Your faithful friend,

"RICHARD GRENVILE."

This Mr. Parker is probably the same person that Sir Richard had written to before (*cf.* p. 185). Sir Marmaduke Langdale was a distinguished cavalry commander in the civil war. He was routed at Preston and captured, but managed to escape to the Continent and, like Sir Richard, entered the Venetian service. He was afterwards (in 1658) created Baron Langdale by Charles II.

King how Hyde was suspected and reported to betray His Majesty; and I named my Authors and my Advices received thereof. This being so, why should such performance of duty be charged against me as being guilty of a combination against Hyde, whereof I protest myself not to be guilty in any particular; rather the contrary may be conceived that Hyde is guilty of some combination against me in some relations not convenient here to be mentioned.

"If persons to perform their loyal duty shall discover probabilities of treason and be ruined for it, who then will trouble themselves to do it, whereas Sovereignty shall censure loyalty as a crime. I must confess truths. After sight of His Majesty's displeasure it gave me for some days a most hearty sorrow and grief for myself, as having lost that Royal Countenance which loyal duty made me love. Now also I'll confess I am not less sorry for the King's loss of so faithful a servant, that has freely sacrificed both his estate and life for Him. Such He wants and such He will want; but that's not valued. Hyde must be conceived injured by common fame. He may not be taken guilty of any disloyalty. But Sir Richard Grenvile for his presuming loyalty must be by a public declaration defamed as a Banditto and his very loyalty understood a crime. However seeing it must be so, let God be prayed

to bless the King with faithful Councillors, and that none may be prevalent to be any way hurtful to him or to any of his relations. As for Sir Richard Grenvile, let him go with the reward of an old soldier of the King's. There is no present use for him; when there shall be the Council will think on't, if not too late. Vale."

Of the last years of Sir Richard's life Lord Lansdown writes, perhaps with some little exaggeration: "He retired from all conversation with mankind, and shut himself out from the world to prepare himself seriously for another, never so much as suffering his beard to be shaven from that moment to his dying day, which followed soon, his great heart not being able to hold out any longer." The year of his death is uncertain, but it is generally supposed to have taken place in 1659. On January 16, 1658, he wrote to the king at Bruges, saying: "On my late petition you said I might be admitted to your presence; so I expected at once my liberty, and a summons to wait on you and to refer to you the difference between Henry Howard and myself; but first to be set at liberty, with reparation for the dishonour and damage done unto me, and so to give you a full account of the business. I, who have lost fortune, blood, and time for your interests, could not stand refractory to your pleasure. I and my predecessors

have served the Crown of England faithfully for six hundred years, and I desire to so end my days. But my unparalleled wrongs are rather more likely to give me a miserable end here than to put me forward in your service."

In May of that year he was still in correspondence with the court, and supplying information which he had gathered and which he deemed prejudicial to the king's welfare. Thus, on May 5, Secretary Nicholas writes to him as follows: "You write me about mischief intended by some one, but neither mention name nor particulars; only bid me confide in your loyalty, which I never doubted. Explain yourself and say who is the person and what is suspected, with any place or particulars that may conduce to discovery, and then care can be used to prevent it." To this Sir Richard replied the next day: "I enclose the name of a person, Sir Robert Welsh, who is suspected, though without proof, and should never again engage in his Majesty's service"; and the following day he writes:

"A mischievous person sometimes uses private means covertly and contrary to a person's will. Let not my name be used without my consent, but rather let me lose my life than my loyalty. If any obscurely use my name trust my loyalty Keep me concealed herein?"

That month he obtained permission to travel, with a testimonial from the king, who was then at Brussels.

In the petition which his daughter made on June 17 in the following year, respecting the goods seized by her father from the Earl of Suffolk, she speaks of his debility, and in a letter from Sir Richard to Hyde, whom, it is pleasing to find, he was once more in friendly correspondence with, he states that he was suffering from ague and had fallen downstairs, which possibly accounts for the debility alluded to in the petition.

How long after this he survived is not known, but the probability is that he died just when the exiled court was full of thoughts and hopes of the return to England. Cromwell was now dead and the Restoration was no longer a dream but an imminent reality, in which his brother Bevill's two sons and his cousin George Monk, whose training as a soldier he had himself superintended, were taking the leading parts. And amid the general excitement the death of poor Sir Richard, who had made himself so many enemies and so few friends, was passed by without comment; but he afterwards found a strong vindicator and upholder in his great-nephew, George Granville, created Lord Lansdown by Queen Anne in 1711, who defended both Monk, Duke of Albemarle

from the calumnies of Dr. Burnet and Dr. Echard, in relation to the sale of Dunkirk and the Portugal Match, and Sir Richard from the misrepresentations of Lord Clarendon and Dr. Echard; and he also included in his works Sir Richard's own "Defence against all Aspersions of Malignant Persons," which he had printed and published in Holland in 1654.

Sir Richard died, it is supposed, at Ghent, where Lord Lansdown states that he lies buried, with this inscription only upon a plain stone over him:

"Sir Richard Granvill, the King's General in the West."

No such stone can now be found, nor any entry of the burial, though careful search has been made.

The administration of his estate was deferred till August 17, 1661. In it he is described as "late of Tavistock, Devon, but died beyond the seas."

His daughter Elizabeth, who was his executrix, married soon after his death Captain William Lennard, a gentleman who had occupied himself in capturing English ships, on the principle that all who did not fight for the king were against him and therefore fair prey. He was taken prisoner on February 8, 1660, as a pirate off

Ostend, and brought from Dunkirk to Dover at an expense to the country of £2. But, fortunately for him, this happened in 1660, and he was soon set at liberty, and on July 12 was given the post of Captain of the Block Houses at Tilbury and Gravesend. He did not, however, long enjoy this, for in 1664 or 1665 his widow petitions the king for a privy-purse pension for herself and her infant son, referring to her father's services to the king, especially in Jersey in 1650, and to her own virtuous conduct in giving up the Earl of Suffolk's goods without compensation after his death.

Sir Richard's wife, Lady Howard as she called herself, had re-occupied Fitzford as soon as his flight in March 1646 was known to her, or, at any rate, his absolute exception from pardon. She must have found the house in a sad plight. "The two or three great cannon-shot" of Lord Essex's gunners had left marks on the outside, and the interior of the house had not been spared. Nothing had been done to restore it since the siege, as Sir Richard had not resided there, preferring Buckland and Werrington. The rents had also to be collected; no easy matter, for some of the tenants were dead, some ruined, and all much impoverished by the contributions levied by one army after another; not to speak of the exactions of Sir Richard, who, Lord Clarendon

says, when the tenants did not promptly pay their rent, would seize their cattle, and even their furniture. But she soon cleansed and restored the old place, which resumed in a great measure its former grandeur; and here she spent the remainder of her days with her natural son, George Howard, who married in 1665, but whose wife died soon afterwards, in childbirth probably, and the infant did not long survive her.

In 1664 Lady Howard, feeling age creeping on her (she was now sixty-eight), made over all her property to her son; but he in the prime of life died, on September 17, 1671, and was buried in Tavistock Church on the 25th; and she, overcome doubtless by the shock of his untimely death, followed him to the grave just one month afterwards. But three days before she died she made a will, leaving the whole of her property (with the exception of some legacies) to her first cousin on her mother's side, Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, disinheriting her two daughters. To Mary Howard, who had married some one of the name of Vernon, she left £500, "to be paid within four years next after my decease, provided that she, the said Mary, or her husband, do not in any way clayme, etc., any of the estate or inheritance of which I, the said Dame Mary, was heretofore seized." If she or her husband should refuse so to do, or should molest or disturb Sir William

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Courtenay or his heirs in the quiet enjoyment of the same, the £500 was not to be paid her, nor was she to take any benefit under the will. To her daughter, Elizabeth Lennard, she left £1000, to be paid within two years of her death, and £20 within one year; but if she protested, then she was only to receive the £20. Then followed legacies to the servants, and £39 to the poor of Tavistock and £10 to the poor of Whitchurch. Everything else was left to Sir William Courtenay, who was by no means a wealthy man, and had nineteen children to provide for! The will is signed "Mary Grinvel," probably the first time for many years she had used that detested surname!

She was buried under the Fitz monument in Tavistock Church; but her heir does not appear to have shown his gratitude for her unlooked-for beneficence to him by erecting any monument to perpetuate her memory; but a gruesome and blood-curdling story respecting her was long in vogue round Tavistock. She was supposed to ride every night for her sins in a coach made of the bones of her four dead husbands, all of whom she was credited with having murdered, from Fitzford to Okehampton Castle. As the clock strikes the midnight hour, she starts from Fitzford gateway in her coach of bones, drawn by headless horses, and in front of the carriage runs a sable

hound, with one eye in the middle of his forehead. Arrived at Okehampton, the hound plucks a blade of grass, and the *cortège* returns to Fitzford, where the blade of grass is laid on a certain stone. This is Lady Howard's penance, and it will last until every blade of grass in Okehampton Park is plucked, or the world comes to an end. Mrs. Bray, in her novel, "Fitz of Fitzford," tells us that a century before she wrote Tavistock folk were afraid to be out after dark, lest they should meet Lady Howard's coach issuing from the gates of Fitzford.

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